DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 138 721 CE 010 640

AUTHOR	Walther, Regis H.
TITLE	Analysis and Synthesis of DOL Experience in Youth Transition to Work Programs. Final Report.
INSTITUTION	Manpower Research Projects, Inc., Alexandria, Va.
SPONS AGENCY	Employment and Training Administration (DOL), Washington, D.C.
PUB DATE	1 Dec 76
GRANT	21-11-76-16
NOTE	119p.
AVAILABLE FROM	National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22151
EDRS PRICE	MF-$0.83 HC-$6.01 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	Economic Research; Employment Opportunities; *Employment Programs; *Federal Programs; Job Development; Job Placement; *Job Training; Labor Force; *Program Administration; Program Evaluation; *Program Planning; Remedial Programs; Unemployed; Unskilled Workers; Vocational Counseling; Work Experience Programs; *Youth Employment; Youth Opportunities
IDENTIFIERS	Comprehensive Employment and Training Act; Department of Labor

ABSTRACT

This report reviews the experience with Federal programs concerned with the transition from school to work and abstracts lessons and guiding principles which might prove useful for planning and administering training and employment programs. The current labor force situation of youth (persons 16-24 years of age) is reviewed, impediments to the employment of youth are examined, the demographic and attitudinal characteristics of hard-to-employ youth are analyzed, guiding principles developed, and program implications described. Recommendations are made relating to skill training, remedial education, work experience, assessment, counseling, job development and placement, and program coordination. A selected bibliography is also included. (Author/WL)

Documents acquired by ERIC include many informal unpublished materials not available from other sources. ERIC makes every effort to obtain the best copy available. Nevertheless, items of marginal reproducibility are often encountered and this affects the quality of the microfiche and hardcopy reproductions ERIC makes available via the ERIC Document Reproduction Service (EDRS). EDRS is not responsible for the quality of the original document. Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made from the original.

MAR 16 1977

ED138721

Analysis and Synthesis of DOL Experience in Youth Transition to Work Programs

Regis H. Walther
Director, Manpower Research Projects

Prepared under Grant No. 21-11-76-16.

December 1, 1976

U S DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF
EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

"The material in this project was prepared under Grant No. 21-11-76-16 from the Employment and Training Administration U.S. Department of Labor, under the authority of Title III, Part B, of the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act of 1973. Researchers undertaking such projects under Government sponsorship are encouraged to express freely their professional judgment. Therefore, points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent the official position or policy of the Department of Labor."

CE 010 640

BIBLIOGRAPHIC DATA SHEET

1. Report No.

2.

3. Recipient's Accession No.

4. Title and Subtitle
Analysis and Synthesis of DOL Experience in Youth Transition to Work Programs.

5. Report Date
December 30, 1976

6.

7. Author(s)

8. Performing Organization Rept. No.
Regis H. Walther

9. Performing Organization Name and Address
Manpower Research Projects, Inc.
1808 Collingwood Road
Alexandria, Virginia 22308

10. Project/Task/Work Unit No.

11. Contract/Grant No.
21-11-76-16

12. Sponsoring Organization Name and Address
U.S. Department of Labor
Employment and Training Administration
Office of Research and Development
601 D Street. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20213

13. Type of Report & Period Covered
Final Report

14.

15. Supplementary Notes

16. Abstracts

This report reviews the experience with federal programs concerned with the transition from school to work and extracts lessons and guiding principles which might prove useful for planning and administering training and employment programs. The current labor force situation of youth (persons 16-24 years of age) is reviewed, impediments to the employment of youth are examined, the demographic and attitudinal characteristics of hard-to-employ youth are analyzed, guiding principles developed, and program implications described. Recommendations are made relating to skill training, remedial education, work experience, assessment, counseling, job development and placement, and program coordination.

17. Key Words and Document Analysis. 17a. Descriptors

Counseling - Vocational Interest
Negroes
Orientation (training)
Personnel Development
Placement
Psychological Guidance
Rehabilitation
Training
Unemployment
Unskilled Workers
Vocational Guidance

17b. Identifiers/Open-Ended Terms

Remedial Education
Coping Skills
Work Experience
Youth

17c. COSATI Field/Group 5I, 5J, 5K.

18. Availability Statement Distribution is unlimited.
Available from National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Va. 22151.

19. Security Class (This Report)
UNCLASSIFIED

20. Security Class (This Page)
UNCLASSIFIED

21. No. of Pages

22. Price

FORM NTIS-35 (REV. 3-72)

THIS FORM MAY BE REPRODUCED

USCOMM-DC 14952-P72

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Preface i

Executive Summary iv

I Introduction 1
  Problems in Analyzing Youth Labor Market Behavior 2
  The Federal Response 5

II The Youth Labor Force 9
  Size of Youth Labor Force 9
  School Enrollment 9
  School Attainment 11
  Labor Force Participation 13
  Full-Time vs. Part-Time Employment 15
  Summer Employment 16
  Unemployment 17
  Duration of Unemployment 20
  Discouraged Workers 20
  Areas of Residence 22
  Jobs Held by Youth 23
  Underemployment and Hidden Unemployment 23
  Outlook for the Future 24
  Categories of Need 25

III Impediments to Employment 31
  Reduction in Youth Jobs 31
    Minimum Wage
    Automation and Technological Change
  Limits on the Employment of Youth 34
    Age Impediments
    Excessive Credentialism and Licensing Requirements
    Union Requirements
    Suburbanization of Employment
  Alternatives to Employment 37
    Unemployment Compensation
    The Irregular Economy
  Personal Factors 39
    Lack of Occupational and Labor Market Information
    High School Dropouts
    Vocational Training
    Child Care Responsibilities
    Racial Discrimination

IV The Hard-to-Employ Youth 53
  Birth Place 54
  Marital Status 54
  Test Scores 54
  Family Background 54
  Family Atmosphere 55
  School Activities 55
  Contact with Police 55
  Previous Work Record 55
  Role Models 56
  Optimism 56
  Socialized Values 56
  Trust 56
  Personal Competence 56
  Self-Evaluation 56
  Ratings by Program Officials 57
  Planning Ahead 57
  Attitude Toward Peers 57
  Mainstream Vs. Street Life 57
  Competing Competencies 59
  Summary 60
V Some Guiding Principles 61
  General Principles 61
    Need for Realistic Opportunities
      Scarcity of Jobs
      Unfair Discrimination
      Frictional Unemployment
    Need to Believe that Opportunities are Available
    Need for Appropriate Skills and Knowledge
      Coping Skills
      Integration of Coping Skills
      Beliefs
  Lack of Self Confidence 73

VI Program Implications 75
  Program Goals 75
  Importance of Reputation 77
  Coping Skill Remediation 78
    Multiple Opportunities
    Developing Success Expectations
      Program Atmosphere
      Success Models
      Categories of Need
  Program Components 83
    Skill Training
      Training and Technology (TAT)
      The Cincinnati Clerical Co-op
    Remedial Education

        Work Experience
            Program Objectives
            Supported Work
    Counseling 96
        Counseling Strategies
            Insight Counseling
            Personal Problems Counseling
            Contingency Management
            Recommended Counseling Practices
    Job Development and Placement 101
    Assessment 101
    Coordination of Program Components 102

Selected Bibliography 105

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. School Enrollment Rates, 1955-1975 ... 10
Figure 2. Participation Rates, 1960-1975 ... 48
Figure 3. Unemployment Rates, 1950-1975 ... 49

PREFACE

This project was initiated because of a concern about the problems of youth entering the labor market and making an initial adjustment to work. Youth unemployment problems have been of particular concern to our society, and numerous national commissions evaluating education give these issues high priority.

The focus is on the age range of 16-24. This period covers the time during which most of the young people are making the transition from school to work. Compulsory education laws require school attendance at least to the age of 16 in all but one of the states of the United States, and in 1975 over 98% of the youth below age 16 were enrolled in school. By age 24, most of the youth have completed their education and have gone on to other activities.

During the last 10 to 15 years, the Department of Labor has given much attention to the development of better solutions to these problems, but with mixed results. The Job Corps, the Neighborhood Youth Corps, the Youth Opportunities Centers and numerous research and development projects were initiated during this period. Promising results were achieved in particular places during specific periods of time, but these successes have typically not been enduring, have not been transportable to other settings, or have been limited to specific client populations. One goal of this project has been to extract lessons from these experiences which can guide policy developers and program administrators.

Paralleling these programs have been longitudinal studies, starting with Project Talent in 1960, which followed cohorts of youth as they entered into adult roles. Other studies include Career Thresholds and Years for Decision at Ohio State University, Youth in Transition at Michigan, and the Survey of 1972 High School Seniors by the National Center for Educational Statistics. These studies provide voluminous, but only partly digested, data which **are** starting to improve our understanding of the process by which youth make the transition from childhood to adulthood and from school to work. The data from these sources were reviewed in detail for the light they threw on issues of concern.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics publishes a wide range of statistics on labor force characteristics and prepares a number of special reports which are relevant to the labor market problems of youth. These reports and statistics were reviewed, and, in a number of instances, information was obtained from unpublished computer runs in order to get more precise information on selected issues.

Efforts were made to identify exemplary programs whose effectiveness had been established by research and which had been in operation for at least three years. Site visits were made to Oak Ridge, Tennessee; Cincinnati, Ohio; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; and New York City. Staff of other programs were interviewed by telephone.

In an effort to identify exceptional programs which might have been overlooked, a letter was sent to all CETA prime sponsors asking them if they felt that some aspect of their local program has worked well and whether the policies, procedures, or materials they had used might be helpful to other CETA sponsors. They were given the option of either sending a written report or sending a telephone number and name of someone who could be interviewed by telephone. About 40 replies were received, and a number of telephone interviews were conducted. Unfortunately, none of the recommended program components met the criterion that it be in operation for three years.

Another source of information was the longitudinal studies of youth programs conducted by the author between 1966 and 1975. Follow-up calls were made to the programs still in operation to determine what their experience had been since the research had been completed.

To clarify the purposes of the study, it is useful to point out what it does not accomplish as well as what it does attempt to accomplish. It is not an historical review of all the Department of Labor research and development projects concerned with youth's transition from school to work, portraying all of the kinds of demonstrations tried, the techniques used, or the various hypotheses tested. It is also not a conventional evaluation study of the impact of Department of Labor youth programs on the youth labor force. Nor is it a cookbook manual on how to operate youth employment and training programs. Instead, the author has tried to:

- Disaggregate the "youth problem" into its various parts. This is clearly a fundamental beginning point for sound policy making and programming.

- Enumerate and discuss the major impediments, with some general judgments of what knowledge has emerged about them and possible remedial strategies. There are areas here where further research may be indicated.

- Analyze the theoretical implications of demographic and labor market conditions, and specify the general prinicpcles that ought to apply to program development and management. The "principles" are to be extracted from R & D experience, giving particular weight to those programs that had stood the test of time and had shown objective evidence of achievement.

It is hoped that the data, interpretations, and conclusions in this report can be translated into suggestions and guidelines for the benefit of CETA prime sponsors. The report also can serve as a contribution to the dissemination and utilization of what has been learned from research and development projects. Finally, this mechanism might also be a good way to contribute Department of Labor experience to the inter-agency committees discussing the issues in larger terms.

The first chapter is an introduction to the problems of youth, difficulties in using conventional labor force concepts, and the Federal response to the problem.

Chapter II reviews the characteristics of the youth labor force and important trends. The variables used for analysis are age, sex, race, educational attainment, school enrollment, part-time versus full-time, and reasons for not participating in the labor force.

Chapter III examines factors which may impede quality of participation in the labor force. Consideration is given to the effects of age, credentials (including school diplomas), discrimination and the like.

Chapter IV takes a look at the special problems of hard-to-employ youth and how they differ on demographic, personality and other variables from youth making a better adjustment to the labor market.

Chapter V examines some guiding principles relevant to planning and administering employment and training programs for youth.

Finally Chapter VI draws some conclusions about the program implications of the data and experience reviewed in the earlier chapters.

As in any study of this type, cooperation was needed from a large number of people. First, there were the program officials who gave generously of their time and ideas during the site visits and the telephone calls to the programs interviewed by telephone. Charles Phillips, the monitor for the Employment and Training administration gave much useful advice and guidance and was always available when needed. Linda W. Zottoli provided high quality research assistance and Barbara Katz took a rough manuscript and transformed it to meet professional typing standards. To each of the above, the author expresses appreciation.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

During the last 15 years a great deal of attention has been directed to the labor market problems of youth. A number of federal programs have been initiated but the results have been disappointing with respect to their ability to reverse the long term trend. This report reviews the experience of the last decade and a half, and attempts to extract lessons and guiding principles which might prove useful for planning and administering training and employment programs.

Of the youth within the age group 16-24, 44% are still enrolled in school, 13.9% dropped out of school before finishing high school, 29.9% graduated from high school but did not go on to college, 8.2% have completed some college work without gaining a degree, and an additional 4% have graduated from college. It is estimated that 85% of the youth will eventually graduate from high school or pass a high school equivalency examination and 10% will graduate from college.

Extent of labor market problems is associated with age, sex, race, school enrollment, and school attainment. The most severe labor market problems are found among the school drop-outs, the non-whites (except college graduates), and the 16-17 year olds. Labor market performance tends to improve as the youth gets older, achieves a higher educational level, and leaves school.

Unemployment is significantly higher among school enrolled youth compared with out-of-school youth of the same age and educational attainment level, probably because the school enrolled youth experience more frictional unemployment since they are more likely to seek temporary part-time work which fits their school schedule.

The possible impediments to the employment of youth include: the reduction in youth jobs because of automation, technological changes and the effects of minimum wages; discrimination against youth because of age, credentials and licensing requirements, union membership requirements, and suburbanization of employment; alternatives to employment such as unemployment compensation and income from the irregular economy; and personal factors such as lack of occupational and labor market information, dropping out of school before high school graduation, lack of vocational training, child care responsibilities, and racial discrimination.

A review of the characteristics of hard-to-employ youth compared with youth who were making a better adjustment to the labor market indicated that a wide range of demographic and attitudinal variables were predictive of labor market adjustment. In general, quality of past performance was found to be a good predictor of future performance--good performers had done better in school, had less contact with the police, came from a more effective and functioning family, had a better work record, and had attitudes more consistent with the mainstream culture. Poor performers identified more with the peer culture of the streets and sometimes had developed competencies in street life which interfered with the development of work-relevent skills.

Youth will be impeded in making an adjustment to the labor market by: (a) lack of realistic opportunities, (b) lack of information or lack of confidence that opportunities are available, (c) lack of appropriate skills and knowledge and (d) lack of confidence in ability to succeed.

Opportunity is, of course, the most basic requirement. Without opportunity for employment, an individual's personal resources can not help him very much. Limitations on opportunity include scarcity of jobs, unfair discrimination, and frictional unemployment. Not only must opportunity be available but the youth much know about it and believe that it is available.

Adequate job performance requires appropriate knowledge and skills. It is useful to divide skills into specific task skills and coping skills. Coping skills are the more basic of the two and of greater interest to employers. If an individual has adequate coping skills, he can, if he is given enough time and adequate on-the-job instruction, learn the specific skills required for most jobs. On the other hand, without adequate coping skills, he is likely to fail on the job even if his specific job task skills are adequate.

Coping skills are defined as those competencies which permit the individual to function within formal or informal social groups. Included are developing and executing plans, working with others, controlling impulses, processing and interpreting information, problem solving, and working within an authority structure.

Coping skills do not function in isolation but as an integrated part of the on-going behavior of the individual. They are difficult to change and difficult to learn because their elements work together as part of a functioning system and change in one part has an impact on other parts.

One goal of a training and employment program should be to develop the capacity of the youth to negotiate the labor market system. To be able to do this youth need to: (a) know about the vocational options that are open to them, (b) know their own desires and abilities as related to these options, (c) develop the coping skills needed to perform adequately in the type of work they want and is available to them, (d) acquire needed task skills when such skills are a prerequisite to employment, (e) develop job seeking and job application skills, and (f) know how to develop their career after entry into the labor force.

Another goal is to expand the options available by removing impediments to employment of youth, such as unfair discrimination, and by providing credible references as to what they are capable of doing.

Since there are usually no direct measures of coping skills, the employer looks for indirect evidence, reputation being one of the most important. During the early part of his career, therefore, a new worker should be building up his reputation. Manpower programs can help their clients by providing references for youth who have not yet established a reputation as a good worker.

Placement assistance and providing references may be sufficient to help some clients become functioning members of the labor force; other clients will need to improve their coping skills. Training and employment opportunities need to be made available, but it is essential that the individual learn from his mistakes and be rewarded for his successes. Manpower programs need to walk a narrow line in which the maintenance of standards is combined with multiple opportunities. Many clients need the opportunity to start over again with a "clean slate".

Among the most important characteristics of a program determining its effectiveness are its reputation for success, the atmosphere it creates, and the availability of success models. A nucleus of trainees who are motivated to improve their coping skills is probably essential to the success of any program. Discordant trainees can be introduced into such a setting but only in limited numbers. If their number becomes too great, the atmosphere may become so negative that the program cannot operate.

To be effective, manpower programs should consider the trainee's particular needs and adopt program elements to meet them. Research results indicate three general areas of deficiency -- lack of opportunity, rebellious attitude toward authority, and low self-esteem. The different remedial strategies required for each type are discussed.

The contributions of skill training, remedial education, work experience, counseling, and job development and placement are discussed.

While skill training is no panacea for all the problems of manpower programs, it is, nevertheless, one of the most useful tools available to CETA sponsors. Two types of skill training programs -- Training and Technology (TAT) and the Cincinnati Clerical CO-OP -- are discussed in some detail.

Remedial education is a useful program component for some clients. Guiding principles are discussed.

Work experience is a useful tool, but only when the work experience is directly relevant to a post-program job. Strategies for the effective use of work experience are discussed, including the supported work concept.

Counselors have their biggest impact when concentrating on vocational objectives. The major emphasis in counseling, thus, should be placed on activities specifically related to work. Recommendations were made as to what should be the specific goals of counseling.

Assessment can be used for three quite different purposes: (a) as part of the decision-making process, (b) as part of vocational exploration, and (c) as part of an evaluation of program effectiveness. These three uses of assessment are discussed.

Maximum program effectiveness is achieved through the flexible coordination of program components. There is an interaction effect among program components, and the manpower program administrator needs to use a systems approach to the planning of his program and needs to pay close attention to the necessity for balance among the various program components.

I

INTRODUCTION

In 1975, between one in four and one in five members of the civilian labor force were between the ages of 16 and 24. The increase of 45% over a 15 year period since 1960 in youth's proportion of the labor force (from 16.6% to 24.0%) had been dramatic and resulted both in an increased proportion of employed and unemployed members of the labor force who were under 25 years of age.[1] The youth share of employed workers increased during the 15 year period by 41% from 15.6% to 22.0%. At the same time, youth's share of unemployment increased by 36%, from 33.6% to 45.7%.[2] The labor market had been partially but not completely successful in absorbing the increased supply of young workers -- and it is the increase in youth unemployment rates since World War II and their current high levels (16.1 in 1975) which created great concern. The employment situation was even more critical for some subgroups within the youth population, particularly 16-17 year olds, high school dropouts, and blacks. Blacks, for example, 16-17 years of age and not enrolled in school had an unemployment rate of 68.9.

To the extent that the recent increase in youth unemployment is a by-product of the increased size of the youth population, relief is in sight. The post-World War II baby boom has run its course and population projections for changes between 1975 and 1980 indicate a slight decrease in the youth proportion of the labor force.

The unemployment problems of youth has been a focus of concern for Federal manpower planners during the past 15 years, and results achieved from Federal programs have proved disappointing with respect to their ability to reverse the long-term trend. The unemployment rate has continued to rise, and even in the middle 1960's when the unemployment rate for adults had dropped to a record low there was still substantial youth unemployment. The purpose of the present review is to analyze the experience with these programs during the last decade in order to make recommendations for improving the effectiveness of these programs and to suggest areas for research and development which will increase our understanding of the dynamics of the transition from school to work and strategies which can assist youth in making a smoother transition.

---

[1] As a matter of convenience, the term "teenager" will be used for persons in the age group of 16-19, "young adults" for those in the 20-24 group, and the term "youth" will be reserved for the entire 16-24 year old group.

[2] 1975 was a recession year and youth tend to withdraw from the labor force quicker than adults. In 1973, a more prosperous year, youth accounted for 22.4% of employed workers and 51.3% of unemployed workers, an even greater increase than found in 1975.

PROBLEMS IN ANALYZING YOUTH LABOR MARKET BEHAVIOR

The commonly used labor force concepts and definitions were developed primarily for measuring the adult labor force and in some respects are not directly applicable to youth. For example,

-- A significant portion of the youth population (40.5% enrolled full-time and 3.4% enrolled part-time) are still enrolled in school and regard their education as their major activity. School enrolled individuals are likely to subordinate their labor force participation to their academic schedule and goals. They will look for part-time jobs during the school year and full-time jobs during the summer and will be less concerned with the type of work and its career prospects than with the pay and the degree to which the travel time required and hours can be coordinated with their academic program.

-- Many youth are still supported by their parents, have access to scholarships or loans for education, and are often able to limit their expenditures to the point that they are able to get along with very little income. As a result, not having a job which provides a steady income does not have the same meaning which it has for a person who has assumed financial obligations. In addition, youth can usually find companions who can share leisure time activities, and have easier and more socially acceptable ways of keeping occupied than the unemployed adult.

-- During the period in which the youth is making his transition to adult roles, it may actually be desirable that he have the opportunity to experiment with various occupational roles so that he can test his options and measure himself against the requirements and potentials of the various careers he may want to consider. The period of job hopping with intervening withdrawal from the labor force or periods of unemployment may be an important part of a growth process which helps him find an occupational niche which is right for him.[1] Job hopping does not necessarily involve unemployment or withdrawal from the labor force, but it does involve some risk taking and experimentation which can increase the probability of unemployment.

-- Labor force participation by youth is significantly affected by cyclical fluctuations in employment and unemployment. As employment rises and unemployment falls, the number of young workers, particularly teenagers, in the labor force increases sharply. In this respect, young workers are considerably more responsive than adults. During recessions, the teenage unemployment rate greatly understates the number of frustrated would-be employees. When teenage employment drops, more teenagers leave the labor force than enter the ranks of the unemployed. Conversely, reductions in teenage unemployment during recovery do not come easily, since increase in employment opportunities results in a substantial amount of labor force entry and reentry.

-- Youth are much more subject to frictional unemployment than are adults because such a large proportion are new entrants or reentrants into the labor force. In 1975, youth comprised about 91% of the new entrants, 48% of the reentrants, and only about 23% of the total labor force.

-- The household survey techniques used by CPS probably result in an underestimation of youth labor force participation. The survey unit is the household and whoever is at home (usually the mother) speaks for the labor force status of the whole family. In the National Longitudinal Study, the youth themselves are asked about their employment status, and the statistical variations are significant. In the NLS Survey of October, 1967, the labor force participation rate of youth enrolled in schools was found to be significantly higher than in the CPS Survey for the same period of time. Similar but smaller differences also were found for teenagers out of school. Possibly much of the difference is that part-time work is thought to be more important or is better remembered by the youth than by the mother.[1] There is likewise evidence that the CPS techniques underestimate the minority youth in poverty neighborhoods who are unemployed or have dropped out of the labor force. Perhaps a significant number of these youth do not have fixed addresses and are not reported as members of established households.

---

[1] The National Longitudinal Study has found that young job changers enjoy larger wage increases, move up occupationally to a greater extent, are better satisfied with their jobs, and receive more training than non-job changers. *Career Thresholds*, Vol. III. Manpower Research Monograph No. 16, U.S. Dept. of Labor, pp. 82-83, 109.

-- The employment problems of youth is not a single set of problems requiring a common manpower strategy for all categories of youth. There is probably as much variation among different categories of youth as there is between youth and adults with respect to their labor market behavior and types of manpower programs, policies and priorities which are needed to facilitate their adjustment to the labor market. It is necessary, therefore, to disaggregate the youth labor force in order to study the problem analytically. Age, sex, race or ethnic group, and school grade completed are important bases for subdividing the population. In this report, to the extent possible, youth will be disaggregated into four sex/race categories (white male, white female, black male, black female). Within each of these categories will be compared the school enrolled by age categories (16-17, 18-19, 20-24) with out-of-school youth. Within the out-of-school categories, a comparison will be made among college graduates, high school graduates, and school dropouts (out-of-school youth without a high school diploma).

---

[1] Career Thresholds, Vol. I (Manpower Research Monograph No. 16, U.S. Dept. of Labor, 1970) pp. 188-189.

[2] Walther, R.H., Magnusson, M. and Cherkasky, S. A Study of Negro Male High School Dropouts Who are Not Reached by Federal Work Training Programs. Sept. 1970. NTIS #PB202110, 5285 Port Royal Rd., Springfield, Va. 22151.

THE FEDERAL RESPONSE

A national commitment to provide job opportunities for every person able and willing and seeking work was established by the Employment Act of 1946. It was not until 1961, 15 years after the passage of this act, that specific efforts were made to reduce unemployment. The initial programs did not differentiate between the problems of adults and those of youth. The Area Redevelopment Act was passed in 1961 to aid in stimulating the economies of areas of high unemployment which had been left behind in the process of natural development. The Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962 was much broader in scope and was based on the assumption that if an individual could be helped to obtain training or retraining, he would then be in a better position to find a job and become self-supporting. By fiscal year 1967, a goal had been established that one quarter of the trainees should be disadvantaged young people. Other programs which included youth as one of the client population were the Concentrated Employment Program (CEP), Jobs in the Business Sector (JOBS), the New Careers program, and the Work Incentive Program (WIN).

The major manpower programs concentrating on youth were:

a. The Youth Opportunity Centers, which were initiated in 1965 within the State Employment Services to provide concentrated attention to the problems of youth. After several years of experience with them they were discontinued as separate units within Employment Service offices.

b. The Neighborhood Youth Corps (NYC), which was authorized by the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 and had three component parts: an out-of-school program designed to provide youth with "constructive work experience" that also resulted in community benefit; an in-school program designed to help students stay in school by giving them jobs; and a summer program designed to provide work for youth during summer months. In 1972, the out-of-school NYC was redesigned to limit its enrollees primarily to the 16-17 year olds and to provide for more services. The NYC programs were abolished after the implementation of the CETA programs.

c. The Job Corps provides job training at residential centers. It was established to meet the special needs of low income, disadvantaged youth currently living in an environment so characterized by cultural deprivation, a disruptive home life, or other disorienting conditions as substantially to impair their prospects for successful participation in other training programs. The Job Corps program is currently authorized by Title IV of CETA.

Current manpower programs are authorized by the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) of 1973. This Act was designed to provide "job training and employment opportunities for economically disadvantaged, unemployed and under-employed persons" to enable them to secure self-sustaining, unsubsidized employment. In contrast to the federally administered programs of the preceding 12 years, CETA is a decentralized system of decategorized training and employment programs, planned and operated by states and local units of government, subject to Federal agency oversight. The following Titles establish authority for programs:

- Title I authorizes prime sponsors to plan and operate manpower services including training, employment, counseling, testing, and placement. For the most part, prime sponsors are states and units of local government in jurisdictions of 100,000 or more population.

- Title II authorizes a program of developmental transitional public service employment for areas of substantial unemployment to be administered by prime sponsors.

- Title III authorizes the Secretary of Labor to provide additional employment and training services to such special groups as Indians, migrant and seasonal farm workers, youth and others whom the Secretary determines to have particular disadvantage in the labor market.

- Title IV contains authority for the Job Corps.

- Title VI provides for a temporary program of emergency public employment specially designed to help ease the impact of the high unemployment generated by the economic downturn in 1974-1975.

The predecessors of CETA -- the Area Redevelopment Act (ARA) of 1961, the Manpower Development and Training Act (MDTA) of 1962, the Economic Opportunity Act (EOA) of 1964, and the Emergency Employment Act (EEA) of 1971 -- provided specialized, nationally determined programs for target groups identified in the legislation (e.g., those persons experiencing structural unemployment, youth, minorities, older workers, and the economically disadvantaged). The proliferation of these efforts, which were administered by separate and often competing sponsors, produced a series of frequently overlapping and seldom coordinated program approaches and target group priorities.

Under CETA, prime sponsors, rather than the Federal Government, decide which activities will be available for which broad and special target groups within the framework of local needs, changing local labor market conditions, and the requirements of the Act.

Prime sponsors are responsible for determining local needs and providing programs designed to meet them through such activities as classroom training, on-the-job training, work experience, public service employment, counseling, testing, job development, child care, and other supportive services. Sponsors can arrange to provide these services directly or through contracts or subgrants with such organizations as the state employment service, vocational education agencies, community groups, or private firms.

Title I programs, in general, are serving persons with the same characteristics as the pre-CETA categorical programs. In each the participants are predominantly young, predominantly members of minority groups and overwhelmingly economically disadvantaged. Most of them completed less than high school (including many who are still in high school).

The primary youth program funded under Title III is a summer employment program which is very similar to the old NYC Summer Program.

The problems of youth making the transition from school to work continues to be a matter of great concern and was aggravated by the economic downturn during 1975. In the remaining chapters in this report the labor force situation, impediments to the employment of youth, and the special problems of hard-to-employ youth will be examined, some guiding principles suggested, and implications drawn for program operation.

II

THE YOUTH LABOR FORCE

This chapter reviews both the current situation and significant recent trends with respect to the labor force status of youth. The youth population is disaggregated into significant categories of youth in order to identify different employment and training needs requiring different program strategies and priorities. An analysis is made of the association between labor market performance and age, race, sex, school enrollment and school attainment. The aspects of labor market performance investigated are: labor force participation rates, full-time and part-time employment, summer employment, unemployment rates, duration of unemployment, jobs held by youth, and the degree to which youth are discouraged about finding employment.

SIZE OF YOUTH LABOR FORCE

Both the total number of youth and the youth proportion of the labor force have increased dramatically during the past 15 years, but the rate of increase has been slowing down in the last few years until it is now at the point of no increase and is expected to decrease slightly during the next five years as a proportion of the total labor force. There were about 22 million youth in the civilian labor force in 1975, an increase of about 10 million since 1960. There will still be a small increase by 1980 (about 1-1/2 million), but by 1985 the actual number as well as the proportion will drop.

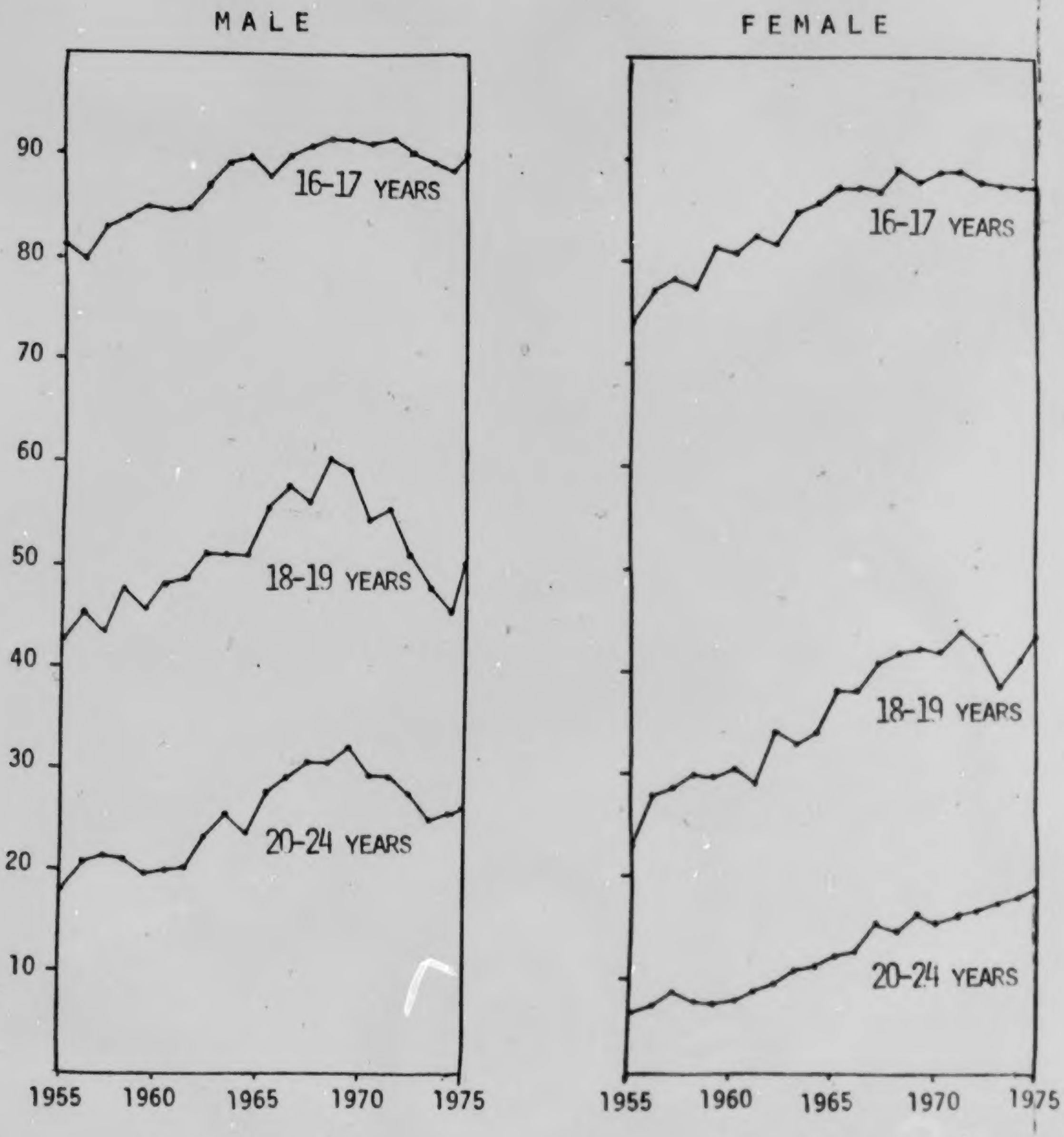
The strain on the labor market created by the large increase in the number of youth available for work is one of the explanations offered for the dramatic increase in youth unemployment during recent years. It is difficult to evaluate the extent to which the inability of the labor market to absorb the new young workers has been an important causative factor, but at this stage, from the point of view of public policy, there is no need for great concern because whatever strain existed in the past will be relieved in the immediate future.

SCHOOL ENROLLMENT

Between 1960 and 1975, school enrollment of youth increased from 38.6% to 44.0%. For the first time since detailed records have been kept, school enrollment dropped between 1969 and 1973, particularly for the 18-19 year old group. (See Figure 1.) There was a significant recovery during 1974 and 1975, but not back to the high

FIGURE 1.

SCHOOL ENROLLMENT RATES, 1955-1975



Source: 1976 Employment and Training Report of the President

point of 1969.

Race differences in school enrollment were extensive in 1960 but had disappeared by 1975, with a slightly higher proportion of non-whites than whites enrolled in school. Females lagged significantly behind males in both 1960 and 1975, and were able to lessen the gap by only a small amount by 1975. The difference between the sexes was 8.0 percentage points in 1960 and had been reduced only to 7.3 by 1975. (See Tables 1 and 2.)

Table 1

SCHOOL ENROLLMENT OF THE CIVILIAN NON-INSTITUTIONAL POPULATION BY SEX, RACE, AND AGE, 1960 & 1975[1]

Age Category	White Males		White Females		Nonwhite[2] Males		Nonwhite Females		Total	
	1960	1975	1960	1975	1960	1975	1960	1975	1960	1975
16-17	82.4	91.0	81.3	87.5	74.1	88.9	73.4	85.7	80.9	89.0
18-19	47.3	49.6	38.0	43.5	40.3	51.6	36.5	47.6	42.1	46.9
20-24	20.4	27.1	10.0	18.6	12.6	21.8	9.7	19.7	14.6	22.4
Total	43.5	47.9	35.0	40.2	35.8	47.3	31.8	42.5	38.6	44.0

School enrollment drops rapidly with age. About 90% of the 16-17 year olds were enrolled in school in 1975 and the percentage dropped below 50% for the 18-19 year old group and below 25% for the 20-24 year olds. Between 1960 and 1975 there was a significant increase for each age group with the greatest percentage point increase for the 20-24 year old group (from 14.6 to 22.4%).

SCHOOL ATTAINMENT

Increased school enrollment has resulted, as would be expected, in higher levels of education completed. Between 1960 and 1975, the proportion of youth who had not completed high school dropped from 27.3% to 13.9%. For non-whites the drop was from 43.1% to 21.8%. The proportion of all youth who had been or were currently attending college increased from 18.2% to 33.1%. For non-whites the increase was from 9.4% to 25.8%. The gap between school enrollment percentages of whites and non-whites has been eliminated, but not the gap in educational attainment. Over twice as big a percentage of white youth compared with non-white youth have graduated from college (4.3% compared to 2.0%), and a substantially larger percentage are currently attending college (21.4% compared to 17.3%).

---

[1] 1960 figures based on 1960 Decennial Census. 1975 figures based on BLS Special Labor Force Report 191, "Students, Graduates & Dropouts in the Labor Market, October, 1975".

[2] Approximately 90% of this category were black with the remainder Indian, Oriental, and others.

Table 2

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT OF THE CIVILIAN NON-INSTITUTIONAL POPULATION BY SCHOOL ENROLLMENT, SEX, AND RACE.[1]
PERSONS 16-24 YEARS OF AGE.

	Male		Female		White		Nonwhite		Total	
	1960	1975	1960	1975	1960	1975	1960	1975	1960	1975
School Enrolled:										
High School or below	29.5	25.2	26.0	21.3	27.7	22.6	27.7	27.3	27.8	23.2
College, F-T	--	19.2	--	15.8	--	17.9	--	14.8	--	17.5
College, P-T	--	3.4	--	3.3	--	3.5	--	2.5	--	3.4
Total College	12.9	22.6	8.5	19.1	11.4	21.4	5.3	17.3	10.8	20.9
Total Enrolled	42.5	47.8	34.5	40.5	39.2	44.0	33.0	44.5	38.6	44.0
Not Enrolled:										
H.S. Dropout	27.9	13.3	26.8	14.5	25.1	12.6	43.1	21.8	27.3	13.9
H.S. Grad., no college	23.0	27.0	30.6	32.6	27.8	30.7	19.8	25.1	26.8	29.9
1-3 yrs. coll.	4.6	8.2	5.9	8.2	5.5	8.5	3.1	6.5	5.2	8.2
College Grad.	2.1	3.8	2.3	4.2	2.4	4.3	1.0	2.0	2.2	4.0
Total not enrolled	57.5	52.2	65.5	59.5	60.8	56.0	67.0	55.5	61.5	56.0

Youth are clearly better educated than the average adult participating in the labor force and the short term effect will be to increase the average educational attainment of the labor force and perhaps increase the mismatch between the educational qualifications possessed by the workers and the qualifications of the job. Whether in the long term the average educational attainment continues to increase will depend on the future school enrollment behavior of youth. As indicated above, there was a recent drop in enrollment of college age youth, but the trend is not clear and it would be hazardous to make any firm predictions. It is too early to tell whether the 1969-1973 drop was an aberration in the long term trend for a steadily increasing proportion of youth to attend college. Education is still highly valued within the society and it seems most likely that the enrollment drop was in part a response to the student unrest of the 1960's and not a permanent re-evaluation of the usefulness of college education.[2] School enrollment may also have been artificially high because of the Vietnam War.

---

[1] 1960 figures based on 1960 Decennial Census. 1975 figures taken from BLS Special Labor Report 191.

[2] Yankelovich in a survey of youth attitudes found the value of education to be severely questioned in the late 1960's and to be strongly endorsed in the early 1970's. Yankelovich, Daniel, *The New Morality: A Profile of American Youth in the 70's*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1974.

LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION

The labor force participation rate of youth in 1975, including those in the military service, was 65.8%, an increase of about four percentage points since 1950, despite the large increase in the proportion of school enrolled youth. As has been characteristic of the total labor force, young women increased their participation substantially during the 25 years between 1950 and 1975, while the participation rate of males tended to remain constant or to decrease. There was a dramatic decrease in the labor force participation rate for non-white youth, particularly those in the 16-17 age range. (See Table 3.) Possible reasons for this drop in participation will be discussed in a later section of this report.

Table 3

LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATES OF THE CIVILIAN
NON-INSTITUTIONAL POPULATION, 1950 AND 1975
BY SEX, RACE, AND AGE.
PERSONS 16-24 YEARS OF AGE.[1]

Race & Sex	16-17 years % 1950	16-17 years % 1975	16-17 years Percent Change	18-19 years % 1950	18-19 years % 1975	18-19 years Percent Change	20-24 years % 1950	20-24 years % 1975	20-24 years Percent Change
White Male	50.5	51.8	+ 2.6	75.6	72.8	- 3.7	87.5	85.5	- 2.3
White Female	30.1	42.7	+41.9	52.6	60.4	+14.8	45.9	65.4	+42.5
Nonwhite Male	54.7	30.1	-45.0	78.2	57.5	-26.5	91.4	78.4	-14.3
Nonwhite Female	30.2	26.5	-12.3	40.6	45.1	+11.1	46.9	56.2	+19.8
Total	41.2	44.7	+ 8.5	65.8	65.7	- 0.2	67.7	75.1	+10.8

As would be expected, Table 4 shows that participation was greater for out-of-school youth than for school enrolled youth. For the total 16-24 year age group, the participation rate was 44.0% for the school enrolled and 77.8% for the out-of-school youth. In all age and school enrollment categories nonwhites had significantly lower participation rates than whites, with the greatest difference found among the school enrolled. The greatest difference was among the 16-17 year old, with school enrolled white males having a participation rate of 46.0% compared to a rate of 16.9% for school enrolled non-white males, another example of the wide differences in the labor market behavior of white and non-white youth.

Contrary to popular stereotypes, participation rates do not vary greatly between students attending high school and those attending full-time college. There are apparently slightly more students working their way through high school as are working their way through college. The college students, however, probably work longer hours. As is true with other categories, females have a lower participation rate than males, and participation rate goes up as level of education increases. Students in college part-time make an unusually good adjustment to the labor market, about the same as that of the average adult over 25. Perhaps in the majority of cases they enroll part-time because they already have a job.

---

[1] Based on the 1976 Employment and Training Report of the President.

Table 4

LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATES OF THE CIVILIAN
NON-INSTITUTIONAL POPULATION 16-24 YEARS OF AGE,
BY FALL SCHOOL ENROLLMENT STATUS, RACE, SEX, AND AGE.
OCTOBER, 1975[1]

	16-17 yrs Enrolled		18-19 yrs Enrolled		20-24 yrs Enrolled		16-24 yrs Enrolled	
Race & Sex	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
White Male	46.0	77.2	43.8	92.7	51.9	94.9	47.2	93.6
White Female	42.2	47.7	43.1	69.0	56.2	67.9	45.9	67.2
Nonwhite Male	16.9	67.1[2]	31.8	81.5	44.5	84.9	27.0	83.1
Nonwhite Female	20.7	47.3	31.0	54.3	48.7	59.0	30.3	57.3
Total	40.4	59.3	41.6	78.0	52.9	78.9	44.0	77.8

School dropouts have a lower participation rate for all race/sex categories, an indication of the labor market difficulties of this category of youth. The problems of the youth who drops out of school before graduating from high school will be discussed in more detail later in this report.

Table 5

LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATES OF THE CIVILIAN
NON-INSTITUTIONAL POPULATION BY SCHOOL ENROLLMENT STATUS AND
ATTAINMENT BY SEX AND RACE FOR PERSONS 16-24, OCTOBER 1975

School Enrollment, Attainment	%Male	%Female	%White	%Nonwhite	%Total
In School					
Elementary or High School	42.7	38.9	44.8	21.7	40.9
College, Full-Time	39.5	41.1	41.1	34.3	40.3
College, Part-Time	89.7	83.8	87.6	78.4	86.7
Total In School	44.7	43.4	46.7	29.0	44.0
Out of School					
School Dropouts	84.5	41.6	63.7	54.3	61.5
H.S. Grads, no College	94.5	70.0	81.3	77.5	80.8
1-3 Years College	94.8	78.5	87.4	79.0	86.5
College Graduates	96.9	91.5	94.7	81.8	94.0
Total Out of School	92.2	65.8	79.3	68.7	77.8

---

[1] Figures based on BLS Special Labor Report 191.

[2] Since the base for this figure is less than 75,000, it is

Labor force participation rates of youth enrolled in school have been increasing during the last decade. (See Table 6.) The biggest increase is for females, but significant increase occurred for all age and sex categories. The reasons for these changes are not immediately obvious. Perhaps the rising cost of education is part of the reason, although this would not explain the increased work participation of 16-17 year olds. Whatever the reasons, it seems clear that there is not a deteriorating attitude on the part of youth toward holding a job.

Table 6

LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATES OF THE CIVILIAN NON-INSTITUTIONAL POPULATION FOR 16-24 YEAR OLD YOUTH ENROLLED IN SCHOOL, BY SEX AND AGE.
1954, 1964, AND 1974[1]

Sex and Age	% 1954	% 1964	% 1974
Males			
16-17 years	31.2	32.5	43.4
18-19 years	27.4	36.0	44.5
20-24 years	39.1	48.0	55.5
Females			
16-17 years	23.8	22.7	39.2
18-19 years	23.4	25.2	29.5
20-24 years	36.6	37.8	56.2

FULL-TIME VS. PART-TIME EMPLOYMENT

Youth workers are much more likely to be working part-time or seeking part-time work than are adult workers. Thus only about 21% of the persons having or seeking full-time work are under 25 years of age, while a little over 43% of the voluntary part-time labor force is within the 16-24 year old category. Table 7 shows the high proportion, particularly among the teenagers, of the school enrolled who have or are seeking part-time work. The degree of association between school enrollment status and type of work sought is dramatic. Among the unemployed school enrolled youth 83.1% are seeking part-time work, while among unemployed out of school youth, 91.8% are seeking full-time work.

---

subject to a large sampling error.

[3] Figures based on BLS Special Labor Report 191.

---

[1] SOURCE: 1976 Employment and Training Report of the President.

Table 7

PERCENTAGE OF NON-AGRICULTURAL WORKERS WORKING FULL-TIME AND PART-TIME AND UNEMPLOYED PERSONS SEEKING FULL-TIME AND PART-TIME WORK, BY AGE, OCTOBER 1975.[1] PERSONS 16-24 YEARS OF AGE.

Age & School Enrollment	Employed Workers		Unemployed Workers	
	Full-time	Part-time	Seek Full-time	Seek Part-time
16-17 Year Olds				
Enrolled	7.4	92.6	6.6	93.4
Not Enrolled	66.8	33.2	91.0	9.0
Total	14.6	85.4	29.3	70.7
18-19 Year Olds				
Enrolled	19.4	80.6	17.2	82.8
Not Enrolled	79.0	21.0	90.2	9.8
Total	59.1	60.9	70.4	29.6
20-24 Year Olds				
Enrolled	44.5	55.5	40.3	59.7
Not Enrolled	87.3	12.7	92.5	7.5
Total	80.3	19.7	85.1	14.9
16-24 Year Olds				
Enrolled	23.2	76.8	16.9	83.1
Not Enrolled	85.2	14.8	91.8	8.2
Total	66.3	33.7	68.6	31.4

SUMMER EMPLOYMENT

Each summer the youth civilian labor force increases sharply as large numbers of young people enter the labor market in search of summer jobs or permanent employment after the completion of their education. In 1974, for example, the number of youth in the labor force increased by over four million between April and July, by 38.7% for teenagers, by 13.9% for young adults 20-21 years of age, and by 4.6% for those 22-24 years of age.[2] The impact on the 22-24 year old category was small, because most of these young persons are out of school or are already employed.

Most of this change in the size of the youth labor force is attributable to students entering the labor force for the summer only. Non-students also enter the labor force during the summer months usually looking for permanent jobs. Some students, moreover, who enter the labor force during the summer remain when school reopens. Others leave school permanently as graduates or dropouts.

---

[1] Based on unpublished BLS statistics.

[2] Unpublished BLS statistics.

The total number of individual students who move into and out of the labor force cannot be determined from the net changes. A survey of summertime employment of students, made in October 1969 indicated that 6.1 million students 16-21 were in the labor force at some point in time for summer jobs only.[1] This suggests that in the summer of 1975 about 6.7 million students who were not in the labor force during the school year were working or looking for work some time during the summer.

UNEMPLOYMENT

The unemployment rate for all workers in October 1975 was 8.6%, close to the highest it had been since the Great Depression before World War II. The youth unemployment was also at a high peak of 15.2% with an astonishingly high rate of 68.9% for 16-17 year old non-white teenage school dropouts.

Age, race, school enrollment, school attainment levels and, to a lesser degree, sex, have an effect on unemployment rates. (See Tables 8 and 9.) Age and school attainment are highly associated with decreases in unemployment rates. In every sex/race/age category, unemployment decreases as age and school grade completed increases. Non-white females consistently have higher unemployment rates than non-white males. For whites, however, no consistent sex differences were found.

The situation with respect to school enrollment is complex. It is apparent from careful analysis of the data that the in-school youth have a much higher rate of unemployment than comparable out-of-school youth. This point can be easily disguised when looking at aggregate data, since the two populations are so different on such characteristics as age, socioeconomic class, and ability, all of which are related to unemployment rates. Data from the 1972 High School Seniors study permitted a direct comparison between comparable groups of students and non-students. In this study, all subjects in the sample had been high school seniors in 1972, and the employment and school enrollment data were collected as of October 1, 1973. The non-students had a much lower unemployment rate (7.4%, compared with 15.7%, for full-time students).[2] The students were probably much more likely to move in and out of the job market as entrants and re-entrants, and thus to increase their exposure to unemployment.

Current Population Survey data, when both age and school attainment are controlled, also supports the above conclusion. When only age is controlled, as in Table 8, the out-of-school youth have higher unemployment rates than the students. When both age and school attainment are controlled, as in Table 9, the school enrolled tend to have significantly higher unemployment rates than the out-of-school youth. One exception is the college graduate still enrolled in school. Perhaps more able students advance to graduate school and are able to take advantage of fellowships and research assistant positions.

---

[1] Special Labor Force Report 128, 1971.

[2] Special analysis of 1972 High School Senior computer tapes. This conclusion is supported by data from the National Longitudinal Study. (See *Career Thresholds*, Vol. 1, p. 65.)

Table 8

UNEMPLOYMENT RATES OF THE CIVILIAN NON-INSTITUTIONAL POPULATION 16-24 YEARS OF AGE, BY FALL SCHOOL ENROLLMENT STATUS, RACE, SEX, AND AGE, OCTOBER 1975.[1]

Race & Sex	16-17 yrs Enrolled		18-19 yrs Enrolled		20-24 yrs Enrolled		16-24 yrs Enrolled	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
White Male	16.9	29.6	12.8	16.1	11.2	11.8	14.2	13.3
White Female	17.9	31.4	14.3	16.6	7.6	11.4	13.9	13.3
Nonwhite Male	25.3	68.1[2]	24.4	37.5	21.1	18.4	23.5	24.9
Nonwhite Female	32.7	69.8[2]	26.1	37.5	19.5	23.3	25.7	28.4
Total	18.3	36.6	14.9	18.8	10.7	12.7	15.0	14.9

Table 9

UNEMPLOYMENT RATES OF THE CIVILIAN NON-INSTITUTIONAL POPULATION, BY MAJOR ACTIVITY, SCHOOL GRADE COMPLETED, SEX AND AGE, PERSONS 16-24 YEARS OF AGE, OCTOBER 1975[3]

School Grade Completed	Major Activity and Age							
	16-17 years		18-19 years		20-24 years		16-24 years	
	School	Other	School	Other	School	Other	School	Other
Male								
Less than H.S. Grad.	25.1	17.1	22.6	25.6	--	22.9	24.5	22.4
H.S. Grad.	--	--	22.3	14.9	43.0	14.0	28.9	14.3
1-3 yrs. coll.	--	--	15.5	10.5	14.7	7.7	15.1	7.9
Coll. Grad.	--	--	--	--	1.2	6.0	2.1	5.9
Female								
Less than H.S. Grad.	21.1	16.7	28.9	26.7	--	23.7	22.5	22.5
H.S. Grad.	--	--	19.4	15.9	--	11.0	19.6	13.8
1-3 yrs. coll.	--	--	10.4	11.5	9.1	7.6	9.4	8.1
Coll. Grad.	--	--	--	--	--	7.3	--	7.3

---

[1] Figures based on BLS Special Labor Report 191.

[2] Since the base is less than 75,000, the figure is subject to a large sampling error. However, when the figures are combined for the two non-white 18-19 year old groups, the base becomes 90,000

The higher unemployment rates of students compared with non-students probably results from their greater exposure to frictional unemployment because of entry and re-entry into the labor force. It is clear that first entry into the labor market is made almost always between the ages of 16 and 24. Prior to age 16, most youth are attending full-time school and have limited need or opportunity for employment. Prior to age 25, most young people will have held some type of job. Thus about three out of four of the new entrants into the labor market are under 19 and 90% are under 25.

Unemployed youth are also more likely than adults to be re-entrants into the labor force, indicating the frequency of the pattern of dropping out of the labor force after either leaving or losing a job. Almost 30% of the unemployed youth are re-entrants compared with about 25% of the unemployed adults. The reasons may be varied. Students often fit their work to their academic schedules and may quit a summer job to enter the fall semester or quit a job during the semester because they feel they should concentrate more on their school work. Youth may also value leisure more than adults and may quit a job to do some traveling or just to bum around.

The high proportion of youth who are new entrants or re-entrants to the labor market undoubtedly increases their vulnerability to unemployment. Youth also change their jobs more frequently than adults. Results for the period 1966-1968 from the National Longitudinal Study indicate that many more youth leave their job than lose them. Of the two-fifths of the young men 20-24 years of age who were no longer working for their first employers, about three-fourths left their first job voluntarily. This proportion is the same for both white and black youth, but varies according to educational attainment and according to occupation of first job for both color groups. A job shift is more likely to be voluntary for white collar than for blue collar workers. Independent of type of occupation, the proportion of separations that were voluntary increased with years of schooling.[1]

Persons who are separated from their job either voluntarily or involuntarily do not necessarily experience a spell of unemployment. Some of them move on immediately to other jobs and others leave the labor force and get a job at the time of their re-entry. The large amount of job mobility among youth, nevertheless, increases exposure to unemployment.

---

and the combined unemployment ratio is 68.9, a figure which is very close to those reported above.

[3] Based on unpublished BLS data. Percentages given only when base is over 75,000.

---

[1] Career Thresholds, Vol. 1 (pp. 116-117).

DURATION OF UNEMPLOYMENT

Perhaps related to the high job mobility of youth is their relatively shorter duration of unemployment than that for adults. (See Table 10.) Among teenagers, an age group with a high proportion of unemployed, almost one-half have been unemployed for less than five weeks compared with about 35% for adults 20 years and over. Another explanation for the shorter duration of teenagers' unemployment may be that they withdraw from the labor force much sooner than adults when they encounter difficulty in finding a job.

School enrolled youth are unemployed for significantly shorter periods of time than are out-of-school youth. This is probably because school enrolled youth are looking for part-time, temporary or casual work and do not necessarily want the job to meet long-range career goals.

Table 10

DURATION OF UNEMPLOYMENT FOR PERSONS ENROLLED IN SCHOOL,
HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES NOT IN COLLEGE, AND SCHOOL DROPOUTS
BY AGE AND RACE, OCTOBER 1975
PERSONS 16-24 YEARS OF AGE[1]

	Duration of Unemployment						
	Total				15 wks or more		
	Number (000)	Percent	1-4 wks	5-24 wks	Total	15-26 wks	27 wks or more
ENROLLED IN SCHOOL							
16-24 years	1,012	100.0	50.0	36.5	13.5	8.5	5.0
16-19 years	778	100.0	53.2	35.6	11.2	8.1	3.1
20-24 years	234	100.0	39.3	39.7	20.9	9.8	11.1
HIGH SCHOOL GRAD., NOT IN COLLEGE	1,506	100.0	38.6	32.5	28.8	16.5	12.3
DROPOUTS	750	100.0	46.6	32.9	20.4	10.4	10.0

DISCOURAGED WORKERS

Unemployment rates do not always tell the full story about labor force maladjustment. When employment prospects are poor, some persons who want to work may become discouraged about their prospects and suspend their job search. Such individuals are technically not in the labor force since they are not actively looking for work but are, nevertheless, a reflection of adverse employment conditions. During the last few years, statistics have been collected on the reasons members of the population are not in the labor force. As might be expected, over 80% of the youth in the 16-24 year old category did not want a job now (Table 11), major reasons were "going to school" and "keeping house." Even among those who want a job now, school attendance was the major reason given for not looking for work. Over three times as many non-whites as whites say they are not looking because they think they cannot get a job, but the overall percentage for both is quite small (0.7% for whites and 2.4% for blacks). The category "think cannot get job" includes persons who are discouraged both because of personal qualities, such as training and education, as well as labor market factors.

---

[1] SOURCE: Special Labor Force Report 191.

Table 11

JOB DESIRES OF PERSONS NOT IN THE LABOR FORCE AND
REASONS FOR NOT SEEKING WORK, BY AGE, RACE, AND SEX, 1975
PERSONS 16-24 YEARS OF AGE[1]

Reasons	Male 16-19	Male 20-24	Female 16-19	Female 20-24	White 16-24	Non-white 16-24
Attending school						
Want job now	6.4	1.5	6.2	1.2	3.3	5.8
Do not want job now	25.5	8.3	27.3	6.4	15.5	20.1
Total	31.9	9.8	33.5	7.6	18.8	25.9
Ill Health	0.5	1.0	0.4	0.8	0.7	1.2
Home Responsibilities						
Want job now	--	--	0.9	2.3	0.6	2.0
Do not want job now	0.2	0.1	8.0	21.0	7.5	7.2
Total	0.2	0.1	8.9	23.3	8.1	9.2
Think cannot get job						
Too young	0.2	--	0.1	--	*	*
Personal handicap	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	*	*
Could not or think could not find job	0.8	0.5	0.8	1.0	*	*
Total	1.1	0.6	1.1	1.2	0.7	2.4
Other reasons						
Want job now	0.6	0.5	1.2	1.1	0.8	1.1
Do not want job now	4.8	2.1	5.6	1.8	3.3	4.7
Total	5.4	2.6	6.8	3.0	4.1	5.8
Total not in labor force	39.1	14.1	50.7	35.7	32.4	44.5
Total in labor force	60.9	85.9	49.3	64.3	67.6	55.5
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

---

[1] SOURCE: Special Labor Force Report 185, "Employment and Unemployment during 1975".

*Not available.

The existence of discouraged workers is obviously a matter for concern because even though the percentages are small, still 220,000 white youth and about 123,000 black youth fall in this category. There was a 41% increase for whites and a 78% increase for blacks over 1974 because of poor economic conditions in 1975. Another cause for concern is that the actual numbers may be significantly higher. There is some evidence that the household survey technique may miss some youth, and it seems likely that the youth in this category would be the easiest to overlook, since they may have broken their connection with their parental household and may not have established a fixed residence of their own. Nevertheless, the number of discouraged workers is comparatively small compared with the total number of unemployed.

AREAS OF RESIDENCE

About two-thirds of the teenagers live in metropolitan areas of 50,000 or more and only about 4% live on farms. Non-whites are even more concentrated in urban areas. About 56% live in the central cities of metropolitan areas and another 18% live in suburbs. The pattern for whites is reversed: about 10% live in central cities and 51% live in suburbs.

Table 12 reports that participation rates are lowest and unemployment rates highest in the central cities for all sex/race categories except non-white female teenagers, whose rates are about the same for each area. Unemployment rates are sharply lower for farm teenagers (7.4%). It is apparent from these data that one focus of concern for employment and training programs should be the central city of metropolitan areas.

Table 12

LABOR FORCE STATUS OF TEENAGERS, BY SEX, RACE, AND TYPE OF AREA, 1975 ANNUAL AVERAGES[1]

	White Male		Black Male		White Female		Black Female		Total	
	P* Rate	U* Rate	P Rate	U Rate	P Rate	U Rate	P Rate	U Rate	P Rate	U Rate
Central City of SMSA	59.8	21.4	39.8	44.9	52.5	19.0	33.6	40.4	50.5	24.5
Suburb of SMSA	62.7	18.9	42.3	35.1	54.8	16.6	35.6	41.9	57.4	18.7
Non-SMSA	62.5	15.6	48.6	28.7	46.6	17.4	34.3	40.8	53.1	17.7
Farm	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	53.9	7.4
Non-farm	--	---	--	--	--	--	--	--	53.0	19.3

---

[1] SOURCE: Westcott, Diane N., Youth in the Labor Force: An Are Area STudy, Monthly Labor Review, July, 1976 and Special Labor Force Report 185, 1976.

*P stands for Participation; U stands for Unemployment.

JOBS HELD BY YOUTH

The jobs held by the young worker are likely to be in different industry and occupational classifications than the jobs for mature workers. School enrollment status and age differences within the youth category also are associated with industry and occupation. Young workers, particularly those still enrolled in school, tend to be concentrated in wholesale and retail trades and service industries. They are likely to be overrepresented among non-farm laborers and underrepresented among professional, technical and kindred workers, and managers and administrators. In-school youth have a very low proportion of employment in manufacturing compared with the high level for out-of-school youth. The young worker also has a low proportion of employment within public administration. Perhaps union requirements limits access to manufacturing jobs and civil service tests limit access to government jobs.

The employment pattern of youth probably reflects a number of factors. The students subordinate the job to their educational goals, and will take laborer, sales clerk, and easily available service jobs such as private household worker, cleaning and maintenance, food service, and the like. Educational and age requirements slow their entry into government, managerial and professional types of jobs. Their participation in professional, managerial, and clerical jobs steadily increases as they grow older, while their employment as private household workers, service workers, and laborers decreases as they grow older. Youth start their initial employment in different types of jobs than will eventually serve as their career; and as they obtain further education or work experience or leave school and enter the employment market, their employment pattern gradually approximates that of the older workers.

Even within sex, age, and school enrollment categories, non-white youth workers differ significantly from white. Non-white male youth are significantly underrepresented in the construction trades, and surprisingly, the non-white females enrolled in school are underrepresented in private household work. Among teenagers, 13.7% of the white female students are employed in this type of work compared to 6.2% of non-white female students. Non-white youth on the other hand are overrepresented in public administration, and service workers (except private household). The fact that young non-white students are underrepresented in the private household category suggests that this type of occupation has developed such a negative connotation that non-white young people are reluctant to apply for such jobs even when they are seeking work to advance their education. It might also be that a significant proportion of these jobs are baby-sitting for white families, jobs not available to non-white girls because of de facto residential segregation.

UNDEREMPLOYMENT AND HIDDEN UNEMPLOYMENT

Some labor market problems of youth are not adequately measured by labor force participation and unemployment rates. No differentiation, for example, is made between adequate and substandard employment. A job which pays substandard wages or under-utilizes the workers' skills counts as employment as much as a fully adequate job. It is difficult to estimate the degree to which youth are underemployed because (a) labor force measurements have not been designed to measure earning inadequacies or under-utilization of skills; and (b) during the period that youth are making an entry into the labor force, they can be expected to be assigned to lower paid and lower skilled work than they will be able to obtain later when they gain more experience and are able to improve their occupational situation. In a particular case it is difficult to prove whether the youth is in a "dead end" job or is serving an informal "apprenticeship" as part of his adjustment to the labor market. Labor force statistics need to be improved to provide useful measures of underemployment for youth.

Hidden unemployment can result from at least three causes. First, some workers are employed part-time, but want full-time work. Since the CPS definition of employment is working one hour or more during the survey week, part-time workers are counted as employed. In 1975 about 12.5 million youth had full-time jobs, about 1.4 million had part-time jobs but would have preferred full-time jobs; and about 5.6 million voluntarily had part-time jobs.

Self-employment or unpaid work in a family business might also disguise discouragement about the availability of jobs. The numbers in this category are likely to be quite small because only about 3.5% of the employed youth are either self-employed or unpaid family workers.

Another possible source of hidden unemployment are youth who go uncounted in CPS tabulations. This possibility was discussed above in Chapter I and could be a significant source of underestimating the labor market problem of minority youth in ghetto neighborhoods.

OUTLOOK FOR THE FUTURE

Important changes are likely to occur in the composition of the youthful labor force during the remainder of the 1970's and well into the 1980's. Largely in response to demographic trends of the past 10 or 15 years, the number of younger workers in the labor force will expand more slowly during the next three or four years and will decline in the succeeding decade. A drop is anticipated in the proportion of working teenagers (although the continued higher fertility levels in the black population will lead to a fairly rapid rise in the number of black youth in the work force until 1980). Most increases will be concentrated among workers aged 20 to 24 years, many of whom will not be first-time entrants to the labor force and most of whom will be seeking jobs leading to career paths. Among both blacks and whites, the proportion of young women at work or seeking work is also expected to increase, along with that of relatively well-educated workers of both sexes. There is considerable reason to believe, therefore, that the labor market situation confronting younger workers has entered a period of gradual change which should continue through the 1980's. For example, competition for entry-level, part-time, and temporary jobs may decrease, since fewer teenagers will be seeking them. The reverse may be true of more permanent jobs with promotion potential, because of the rising proportion of 20-24 year old college graduates, both male and female. In some fields of specialization (such as the social sciences) an oversupply of college graduates may develop -- if indeed this has not already occurred.

On the other hand, technological and economic change may exert counter-pressures on these foreseeable demographic trends. A technologically-induced drop in the number of jobs for which the unskilled can qualify could have serious consequences for teenage employment, even though the proportion of 16-19 year olds seeking work in the 1980's will be reduced by a considerable margin. And a slow rate of economic growth could lead to oversupplies of younger workers in blue-collar and white-collar fields alike.

CATEGORIES OF NEED

When the youth population is disaggregated, and an analysis made of the significant categories of youth, their labor market problems do not seem as severe as the aggregate data imply. Inadequacies in the available data make it difficult to make precise estimates of the number and type of youth with severe problems, but it seems clear that a substantial part of youth unemployment results: (a) from the high proportion of the youth, particularly those in the younger age groups, who are full-time students and have subordinated their labor force activities to their academic goals; (b) from the high frictional unemployment of youth because of the large number of entrants and reentrants into the labor force; and (c) from the fact that youth are much more likely than adults to leave a job voluntarily as part of their occupational explorations or because they have not yet made a full commitment to work as a regular part of their activities. Youth unemployment, on the average, is also of much shorter duration than adult unemployment.

The labor market problems and needs of various categories of youth are descussed below.

- School Dropouts. On virtually every measure of labor market performance the youth who left school without obtaining a high school diploma has a poorer record than youth who completed high school. About 4.8 million youth (13.9% of all youth) were school dropouts in October 1975. About 23% are still in school working toward a high school diploma and some of them will become school dropouts. Other youth who are currently out-of-school will eventually obtain the diploma or pass a high school equivalency test. When the counteracting effects of these two trends are taken into consideration, it is estimated that the number of school dropouts in the 16-24 group will eventually increase to about 5.2 million (about 15% of all youth). All school dropouts do not have employability problems, but a high proportion do. Their unemployement rates are higher, their labor force participation rates are lower, and they are more exposed to the "dual labor market" syndrome of frequent spells of short-duration unemployment with movement among unsatisfactory jobs involving little improvement in earnings.

- Non-White Youth. About 5 million (14% of all youth) are members of minority groups and about 90% of these are blacks. In most age and educational categories, nonwhites are doing much more poorly than whites with respect to both labor force participation and unemployment rates. The single exception was college graduates for which the race differences changed dramatically over a year's time. In 1974, white college graduates had an unemployment rate of 4.3 in contrast to the non-white rate of 13.2. In 1975, the white rate had increased to 8.4 and the non-white rate had dropped to 6.2. Perhaps affirmative action programs are beginning to have a significant effect for college graduates.

  The group having the most labor market problems, as might be expected, is non-white school dropouts, which indicates that race combined with low educational attainment is associated with the most severe labor market maladjustment. It should be noted that all racial or minority groups are not having greater than average labor market problems. Indians, Puerto Ricans, Mexican Americans, and blacks encounter the greatest difficulties while Orientals, Cubans, and foreign-born youth do at least as well as the average youth. This issue will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter.

- 16-17 Year Olds. While unemployment rates are highest for this group, the severity of the problem is attenuated somewhat by the fact that about 85% are looking for part-time work. The young teenagers having the most difficulty are those who are out-of-school. Their unemployment problems are aggravated by employer restrictions on hiring youth under 18 as well as the view of many employers that 16-17 year olds are immature and undependable. The 16-17 year old non-white, school dropouts have the most severe unemployment problem of any other group, a startling 68.9% in October of 1975. In the previous years when economic conditions were not as bad as they were in 1975, the rate had exceeded 50%.

- The Discouraged Worker. Youth who have suspended their job search because they have become discouraged about their prospects of finding a job comprise about 1% of the youth population or about 343,000 youth. The proportion is small, but the youth who are discouraged about getting a job, even though they are not reflected in unemployment rates, are still a sizable group and badly need assistance. Furthermore, the frequency of discouragement is over three times as great among non-whites (2.4% compared with 0.7%).

- Involuntary Part-Time Workers. About 1.4 million youth (3% of all youth) had part-time jobs although they would have preferred full-time jobs. Such youth need help in improving their qualifications or assistance in finding a better job.

- Summer Unemployment. As many as 6.7 million youth who are not in the labor force during the school year seek work during the summer. A high percentage are unsuccessful in their quest although the exact number is hard to estimate precisely since many apparently withdraw from the labor force when they encounter difficulty in obtaining employment.

- Disinterested Youth. About 1.2 million youth (3% of the total youth) population did not want jobs despite the fact that they were not in school, keeping house, or discouraged about their prospects of finding a job. No information is available about why they prefer to remain out of the labor force. One conjecture is that most are taking a break between school and work before resuming school. Some of them may also be alienated from the regular labor market and be supporting themselves in other ways. There is apparently no relationship between economic status and disinterest in participating in the labor force since significantly more non-white youth than white youth fall into this category (4.7% compared with 3.3%). Research is needed on the reasons for youth disinterest in labor force participation.

- Youth Still Enrolled in School. About 15.3 million youth are still enrolled in school. Most of them are interested in part-time work rather than work which can provide them with a full-time career. They are still likely to subordinate their commitment to work to a commitment to complete their education.

  Youth in this group are likely to need work both as a source of income to fund their educational program and as a way of gaining experience with working roles. Inability to obtain jobs may limit them by restricting their ability to gain an education and to develop coping skills.

  The creation of part-time jobs, particularly for youth from low-income families, is needed to return unemployment to an acceptable level. Frictional unemployment should also be reduced by job referral and placement assistance.

- High School Graduates Never Attending College. About 10.4 million youth (29.9% of the total population) enter the labor force after graduating from high school without enrolling in college. These youth need the full range of training and employment assistance but do not need the concentrated attention required by the school dropouts, unless they have obtained a high school diploma without having mastered the reading and other skills which are expected to be associated with a high school diploma. Such youth are likely to have many of the problems of the school dropouts.

- High School Graduates With Some College. About 2.8 million youth (8.2% of the total youth population) enter the labor force with some college work but not a college degree. College attendance does not particularly help them occupationally and their problems are likely to be very similar to those of the high school graduates who did not attend college.

- College Graduate. About 1.4 million youth (4% of the total population) have obtained a college degree when they enter the labor market. The proportion who will eventually obtain a degree is much higher (probably over 3.5 million or over 10% of the total population)

> since many youth have not yet had time to complete college or will return to complete it later. On all measures of labor market performance, the college graduates do better than other categories of youth or even better than the average of the adult population. There has been some recent evidence that the college graduate is encountering more labor market problems and it seems possible that their problems may increase in the future. Assistance might be given to the college students by providing realistic information about vocational prospects associated with particular academic programs. Then after graduation they need information about available jobs and opportunities for new training if jobs are not available within their college specialty.

The labor market problems of youth cannot be evaluated entirely by the above statistics. Adequate statistics are not available about the extent of underemployment or lack of progress in pursuing career goals. Youth also need work both as a source of income to finance their education and as part of their preparation for future work roles. Failure to obtain the work when needed may impair their ability to develop needed or desired qualifications and thus reduce their long-range occupational prospects and their value to society.

III

IMPEDIMENTS TO EMPLOYMENT

The youth labor market situation is influenced by a wide range of societal and individual factors. Changes have occurred within the society which have changed the number and type of jobs available to youth. Policies and practices have developed which, although they do not change the total number of jobs to any significant degree, have placed youth applicants at a disadvantage in comparison with adult applicants. Finally, changes have occurred which have reduced the economic need to work or have altered attitudes toward work. This chapter will discuss these various types of impediments to employment.

REDUCTION IN YOUTH JOBS

A general scarcity of jobs affects both youth and adults and it obviously is essential that economic policies be followed which will create enough jobs to keep unemployment from rising to an undesirable level. In this report, however, the focus is on factors which have more impact on youth than adult employment such as minimum wage laws and the effects of automation and technological change on entry level jobs.

Minimum Wage

Minimum wage laws, by setting a wage rate which must be paid for all covered jobs, can reduce the number of jobs available in the labor market, since employers may decide that the wage costs for some types of jobs are too high for the value of the work which gets done. The employers have the option of leaving the job undone, making the job part of another job, or making capital investments which will permit the work to be done by machines. It seems virtually certain that minimum wages will reduce the number of available jobs to some degree. The question is how much and whether the amount is significant.

On the basis of the present evidence, it seems most likely that minimum wages do have some effect but is only one of a number of factors which have an impact on youth unemployment. Its greatest impact may be on the youth seeking part-time work in conjunction with going to school, and it may have as much effect on keeping youth out of the labor market as it has on keeping youth from finding work after they have started looking.

A recent review of studies on the effects of minimum wages by the Employment Standards Administration concludes that estimates from these studies are in the same general range: an increase of 25% in minimum wages leads to a reduction in teenage employment varying from about 3% to 8%. The researchers point out that the evidence is not conclusive and the rapid increase in the teenage population provides an alternate explanation for the increase in unemployment in this age group. Since the youth population is no longer increasing, this factor will not complicate future studies.

An indirect effect of minimum wage laws may be to establish expectations on the part of the worker as to what is a proper wage. There is some evidence that when teenagers are asked what they consider to be their lowest acceptable wage, on the average they give a figure which is above the current minimum wage.[1] To the extent minimum wage laws set psychological floors beneath wages, the effect of a youth differential permitting payment of lower wages to younger workers would be limited.

Automation and Technological Change

Technological changes which permit more work to be done by machines and computers has an impact on both the number and skill levels of jobs. At one time it was fashionable to predict that automation would replace low skill jobs and the future composition of the labor force would increasingly include jobs requiring more skill in the professional, technical, clerical, and services occupational areas. More recently, serious doubt has been expressed as to the accuracy of these predictions. It has been observed that there does not appear to be a dramatic drop in unskilled or semi-skilled jobs, and perhaps the effect of automation will be to create a larger number of semi-skilled jobs and reduce the number of highly skilled jobs by breaking them down into component parts with individual workers doing a segment of what was once a complex job taking a long time to learn.

The evidence on the effect of automation on the skill level of jobs is limited and inconclusive. Nationwide data collected to throw light on this issue is not being gathered systematically. The best current information comes from the CPS and Decennial Census surveys of worker occupations.

Table 13 reports the change between 1958 and 1975 in the number of workers employed within major occupational groups. During this period the total labor force increased by 34.5%. The most dramatic change was the great reduction in the number of private household and farm workers, a decrease of between 40 and 50%. The changes in numbers of farm workers was undoubtedly a direct result of automation and technological advances in agriculture which have resulted in more food being produced with fewer workers. The reduction in private household workers was probably a combination of technological advances which permit household work to be done with less labor, thus making it less attractive to the housewife to hire domestic help; the higher wages of domestic help, which limited the demand for such labor; and changes in attitudes toward domestic work, which operates on the supply side and limits the number of applicants for domestic positions.

---

[1] Youth Unemployment and the Minimum Wage. Bureau of Labor Statistics, (Bulletin 1615), 1970.

Table 13

PERCENTAGE CHANGE 1958-1975 IN THE NUMBER OF WORKERS, BY MAJOR OCCUPATIONAL GROUP[1]

Occupational Group	Percent Change 1958-1975 (%)
Service workers, except private household	+90.0
Professional and technical workers	+83.4
Clerical workers	+66.0
Sales workers	+37.0
All workers	+34.5
Managerial and administrative workers, except farm	+31.0
Crafts and kindred workers	+29.6
Non-farm laborers	+18.7
Operatives	+12.8
Private household workers	-40.5
Farm workers	-45.2

The greatest increases are in service workers, except private household; professional and technical workers; and clerical workers. These changes are consistent with the original predictions as to the effects of automation, as are the relative decreases in the percentage of non-farm laborers and operatives.

Based on current evidence, the following generalizations can be made about recent changes in the labor market for youth:

- There has been a significant decrease in work related to the family, either in a family business or farm or chores around the home. There are many fewer small businesses, fewer youth work on family farms, and the amount of housework has decreased. The time of youth therefore does not get absorbed at home to the degree that it did in the past and more youth are looking to the external labor market for employment.

---

[1] SOURCE: 1976 Employment and Training Report of the President.

- There has been a significant reduction in the proportion of unskilled and semi-skilled jobs available as entry level jobs. This is part of the explanation for the labor market difficulties of school dropouts.

- Automation and technological changes can be expected to continue perhaps at an even faster rate. During an average work career, workers can expect to have to make several significant job changes which require learning new skills. The training process can be expected to be greatly facilitated if they have good reading comprehension skills.

LIMITS ON THE EMPLOYMENT OF YOUTH

Youth are also affected by policies and practices which give older, more experienced workers an advantaged position in the employment queue. When combined with an overall shortage of jobs, such policies or practices can leave youth in a highly disadvantaged position. The social consequences of placing youth at the end of the queue may not be as severe as other types of discrimination in employment, since youth is a condition which will pass with time and the young person will get his chance as he gets older. It is doubtful whether it would be wise to increase employment of youth at the expense of higher unemployment among adults; nevertheless, recognition should be given to the social losses which are incurred when youth are unable to earn money needed to support themselves while continuing their education, or are unable to gain experience with work which will help them establish reasonable occupational goals and to learn occupational skills in a step-by-step manner. The usefulness of work experience as part of socialization for work will be discussed in a later part of this report.

Age Impediments

There are many laws and regulations which establish age qualifications for jobs. Child labor laws attempt to protect children from exploitation; safety regulations try to protect young people from hazardous activities; insurance requirements attempt to limit the risk caused by the immature attitudes and behavior thought to be characteristic of youth; regulations controlling the serving of alcoholic beverages often contain minimum age requirements. The combination of these various laws and regulations plus the tendency of some employers to favor older workers place a number of jobs off-limits for youth.

The extent to which age requirements for employment restrict the employment opportunities of youth needs further investigation. The problem is particularly critical in the 16-17 year old group since many, perhaps most, adult type jobs require the applicant to be at least 18.

The situation for the youth above 18 is not so clear. It has been reported that 70% of all employers do not hire anyone below the age of 21.[1] The evidence for this conclusion is limited. A negligible number of CPS respondents over age 17 give "too young" as the reason why they are not looking for work. The most relevant study which could be located on the topic was conducted in the early 1960's, and found that among employers surveyed only about 21% established a minimum age of 21. About 34% establish 18 as the minimum age, and the remaining 45% set no age restrictions.[2]

Experience with employment programs over the last ten years suggests that past the age of 18, education rather than age is the primary barrier to employment. For blue collar and non-professional white collar jobs, employers may prefer older workers because they believe them to be more mature, dependable and less likely to quit; but they seldom establish formal age requirements past the age of 18 unless statutory or insurance requirements are involved. As a matter of practice, the younger applicant may be at a disadvantage when competing with older workers, but he is not automatically eliminated because of formal requirements.

Further evidence for this conclusion comes from data presented earlier in this paper. The group of recent high school graduates not going on to college has not been experiencing an increase in unemployment during the recent past and its unemployment rate is not particularly out of line with what would have been expected in view of the frequent entry and reentry of youth into the labor market. The major effect of age restrictions is probably not in creating unemployment but in channeling youth into particular types of jobs and perhaps retarding their opportunities to enter career paths.

Excessive Credentialism and Licensing Requirements

There has been considerable discussion in the last few years of a tendency for employers to raise their educational requirements for jobs. Persuasive evidence has been developed which indicates that this decision is frequently made without objective evidence that the educational requirement is related to performance on the job. Excess licensing requirements are not discussed as frequently, perhaps because so few jobs available to youth require licenses. To the extent that employers or professional associations impose excessive educational or licensing requirements for jobs, the legitimate opportunities for youth will be restricted as it takes time either to meet the requirements for education or to acquire the skills or knowledge needed to pass the tests required for licenses.

---

[1] Testimony of Paul Barton of the National Manpower Institute quoted in the National Service Newsletter, Nov. 1976.

[2] Getting Hired, Getting Trained. U.S. Dept. of Health, Education and Welfare, Welfare Admin., Office of Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Development, 1965.

There is little hard data available which permits a judgment as to whether these requirements are increasing or decreasing in relation to the qualifications possessed by the work force. The educational attainment level of the youth work force has been increasing steadily over a very long period of time. There is no comparable census of the educational requirements of jobs. On the basis of what evidence is available, it seems likely that job requirements are not rising at a faster rate than average educational attainment. Nevertheless, there are probably some situations in which youth are prevented by either education or license requirements from seeking a job for which they are really qualified despite not possessing these credentials. It should be noted that use of credentials for hiring probably has little effect on overall unemployment rates since it primarily affects the order in which applicants are considered for jobs.

Union Requirements

In 1972, about 22% of the civilian labor force were union members. Since about four out of five jobs would not fall under the jurisdiction of unions, union requirements could only have a limited effect upon the employment prospects of youth. The effect, however, may have been larger than the proportion of union jobs might indicate. A high proportion of union jobs fall in the blue collar occupational fields and might have been, in the past, the source for part-time work. In the jobs which are subject to union requirements, it takes time for a newcomer to qualify, and there is often a tendency for the persons already qualified to control or influence the admission of new members. This tendency, even when no overt discrimination is intended, can operate to the disadvantage of groups which have been excluded from the occupation in the past and do not have opportunity to influence the admission of new members.

Suburbanization of Employment

It has been argued that one of the by-products of housing segregation is that the distance to and difficulty of reaching certain jobs from non-white residential areas may impose cost on non-whites high enough to discourage them from taking employment there. The problem has been reported to have become much more serious as a result of the "suburbanization of employment" since the end of World War II, and this situation could be expected to become more serious in the future assuming that the trend toward greater suburbanization of jobs will continue. A study of the closely related issue of black-white income differentials[1] has concluded that housing segregation is not one of the major factors accounting for the relatively low earnings of urban blacks. While this study did not directly investigate the effect of housing segregation on the amount of employment among blacks, information on relative employment rates does not support the hypothesis that housing segregation is a significant contributor to unemployment.

---

[1] Stanley H. Masters, Black-White Income Differentials, Academic Press, 1975.

On the basis of the present evidence, the issue is still in doubt. Further analysis needs to be made of the degree to which youth, particularly black youth, are denied access to jobs because of housing segregation and the suburbanization of jobs.

ALTERNATIVES TO EMPLOYMENT

Up to this point, two types of impediments to youth employment have been discussed. The first type relates to the total number of jobs available for youth; the second to the place of youth or categories of youth in the employment queue. The discussion now turns to factors influencing the supply side of the youth labor force, or the circumstances under which youth will enter the labor market. An important consideration here is that youth often have limited economic obligations plus opportunities for financial support from their family or other sources. All youth do not, of course, have access to such sources of support directly, but perhaps a large proportion have alternatives to employment such as the irregular economy, welfare, and unemployment compensation.

Unemployment Compensation

One explanation for youth unemployment is that unemployment insurance serves as an incentive to extend joblessness. In a recent study,[1] the expected duration of unemployment for insured workers is found to exceed that of uninsured workers to a statistically significant if relatively small degree. It is estimated that the amount of unemployment was increased by between 0.2 and 0.3% of the labor force. In 1973, youth workers between the ages of 16 and 21 constituted about 16% of the labor force but only about 8.4% of unemployment insurance claims. Thus the effect of unemployment insurance is likely to be even smaller for this age group and to make a negligible contribution to the overall youth unemployment rate.

The Irregular Economy

Many youth in poverty neighborhoods, particularly in large cities, obtain money through the irregular economy. Such activity can be, but is not necessarily, illegal. One observer reports that some of the work opportunities in the irregular economy are criminal (distribution and sale of narcotics; prostitution; robbery), but many are not. The bulk of those that do not involve crimes are illegal because they are unreported for tax purposes or for licensing. The irregular economy presents the opportunity for economic activities that are not classified as employment by the formal agencies in the society.

---

[1] Steven T. Marston, The Impact of Unemployment Insurance on Job Search. Brookings Institute Papers on Economic Activity, 1:1975.

Crime and hustling, in particular, yield uncertain returns, but demand little effort, can be pursued on a leisurely schedule, and allows freedom to pursue other interests. They can provide higher incomes, more status and prestige, and more exciting work than the low wage casual work which is thought to be available in the regular labor market. Moreover, this market may be of sufficient size to affect the extent to which, and the ways in which, slum residents participate in the regular market. As evidence of this, the cities that had the greatest amount of property crime in 1966 had a significantly lower unemployment rate in the slums. Apparently income-earning potential through property crimes offers an alternative to employment.[1]

As further evidence in this point, the results of a study in Harlem[2] was the basis of the estimate that roughly two out of five adult inhabitants had some illegal income in 1966, and one out of five appeared to exist entirely from money derived from illegal sources. The interviewed subjects thought the accepted ways of achieving economic goals too ridden with frustration or out of reach, and they viewed illegitimate activity as a much easier way of achieving some measure of economic success and status in the immediate community. Hustling was often regarded as a logical and rational option. Jobs, even those paying above the minimum wage, were sometimes disdained.

Criminal activity and the possible handicap of an arrest record did not seem to present problems for the Harlem youth. Issues of this kind were not even raised during the interview. This suggests that the costs attached to engaging in illegal activity to be low. No great social stigma accompanies arrest, so far as the immediate neighborhood is concerned. The probability of being apprehended is considered relatively small, and the penalty for a particular offense, if one is caught, can be calculated with reasonable accuracy.

Black youth are involved in crimes committed for income such as robbery or burglary much more frequently than white youth. In 1950, blacks were arrested five times more often than whites for robbery; by 1972 blacks in urban areas were 20 times more likely than whites to be charged with this offense.[3] Several studies have concluded that if age and poverty factors could be eliminated, blacks would still be much more likely to commit a crime than whites. Ghetto life and the contacts that the youth makes on the streets are probably responsible for these differences. It has been suggested that another major factor may be the "legitimacy" of crime, to the extent that blacks see it as an expression of civil disobedience. Youth who watched or participated in urban riots, which generally included massive looting, undoubtedly had fewer qualms about criminal activities.

---

[1] Friedlander, Stanley L. Unemployment in the Urban Core. New York: Praeger, 1972.

[2] 1971 Manpower Report of the President, pp. 98-99.

[3] Levitan, S., Johnston, W.G. and Taggart, R. Still a Dream. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1975.

[4] The Twentieth Century Fund Task Force on Employment Problems of Black Youth, The Job Crisis for Black Youth. New York: Praeger, 1971.

PERSONAL FACTORS

Certain qualities of the youth or the circumstances in which they find themselves have been found to have an impact on their labor market performance. The effects of a lack of occupational and labor market information, lack of a high school education, lack of vocational training for non-college youth, and child care responsibilities without the financial assistance of a husband are discussed below.

Lack of Occupational and Labor Market Information

One of the most significant findings of the National Longitudinal Study relates to the association between occupational information and labor market status. In an economic system in which individuals are free to choose among occupations and specific jobs, effective allocation of human resources depends upon workers and potential workers having accurate labor market information. The market can function smoothly only if workers have a reasonably good knowledge of the range of alternatives for which they might potentially qualify and of the rewards, (and costs) attached to each. Accurate and complete labor market information is no less important from the standpoint of individuals. Whatever his particular employment goals, the probability of achieving them is enhanced by full knowledge of alternative opportunities.[1]

A simple occupational information test administered to a national sample of young men 14-24 years of age produced scores which were positively correlated with amount of education, age, measured intelligence, and socioeconomic status of family of origin. In addition, youth who have grown up in large cities or their suburbs tend to score higher. On the average, white youth record slightly more than eight points higher than non-whites. This is approximately one standard deviation for both groups.

On the basis of information on average hourly earnings in occupational assignment two years after administration of the occupational information test, it appeared that youth with superior information were successful in obtaining better and higher paying jobs.

---

[1] Parnes, Herbert S. and Andrew I. Kohen. Occupational Information and Labor Market Status: The Case of Young Men. Center for Human Resource Research, The Ohio State Univ., Sept., 1973.

The kinds of labor market information which are most useful to individuals varies somewhat according to stages of the life cycle For example, it is particularly important that youth ready to make the transition to work be aware of the range of occupations potentially available to them and of the characteristics and rewards of different lines of work and of the entrance requirements for each. Only on the basis of such information can rational decisions be made about the amount and type of education and training to pursue.

High School Dropouts

This group comprises about 14% of the total 16-24 age group and shows the most severe labor force maladjustment problems. The unemployment rate in October 1975 was 22.2 for males and 30.7 for females, a much higher rate than was found for the rest of the out-of-school group who have at least completed high school (12.5% for males and 12.3% for females). Dropouts also had a lower labor force participation rate than out-of-school high school graduates (61.5% compared with 83.2%).

Non-white school dropouts have a significantly higher unemployment rate than whites (22.8% compared to 35.4%), with the highest rate found for non-white females (42.1%). At the same time, non-whites have a significantly lower labor force participation rate. Non-whites also comprise a significantly higher proportion of the dropout population than their proportion of the total labor force (22% of the dropout group and 14% of the labor force). The problem of the high school dropout has been a matter of concern for many years, but there is no evidence that the situation is growing worse, except for the non-white youth. In 1964, the unemployment rate for white school dropouts the October following the year of their dropout was 32.2 The comparable figures for 1974 and 1975 were 27.7 and 30.1.

Recent longitudinal studies have found background, ability and attitudinal factors which are associated with dropping out of school before graduation from high school.[1] The Youth in Transition study of 10th grade males found that school dropouts were more likely to come from large families with low social-economic level ratings, from broken homes, and from families reported to have a higher level of parental punitiveness. Dropouts had a history of getting along rather poorly in school. They tended to score low on tests of intelligence, vocabulary, and reading skills and to have previous academic failures. For those who "often" engaged in rebellious behavior in school, nearly one-half later became dropouts.

Boys disposed toward delinquent behavior, those who were very high in the need for independence, and those with strong impulses to aggression were more likely than average to become dropouts.

---

[1] Bachman, J.G. et al. Dropping out -- Problem or Symptom? Institute for Social Research, Univ. of Michigan, 1971. Career Thresholds, Manpower Research Monograph No. 16, U.S. Dept. of Labor; Vol. 1-4.

On the other hand, dropout rates were lower among boys high in needs for self-development and self-utilization, those who felt some control over their own destiny, and those with high self-esteem and a commitment to social values (honesty, kindness, reciprocity, etc.).

The National Longitudinal Study found the following major differences in the labor market experience between graduates and dropouts:

- Graduates exhibit a higher rate of labor force participation, a lower rate of unemployment, and a greater likelihood of being employed full-time, although the gap appears to narrow with increasing labor market experience.

- Holders of a high school diploma occupy noticeably higher rungs on the occupational ladder than do young men with less than 12 years of schooling, and among whites the disparity in occupational distribution appears to widen over time.

- Although the monetary advantages of completing high school over dropping out were not realized immediately, by the third year after leaving school hourly rates of pay of graduates were higher than those of dropouts. Graduates, however, were more likely to have participated in formal post-high school occupational training programs and the wage increase may be, at least in part, a result of this training.

- Dropouts were more mobile between employers than were graduates. For example, one-fifth of the white graduates in contrast with two-fifths of the white dropouts change employers three or more times during a two-year period.

As in the Youth in Transition study, the graduates and the dropouts differed on attitudinal and ability measures. Graduates scored high on tests of mental ability, were more likely to manifest a strong commitment to work, and evidenced a stronger sense of personal efficacy.

In the reports of both of these studies, the researchers point out the strong possibility that both dropping out and unfavorable labor market experiences are the result of disadvantages that predate departure from school. If the difficulties which the dropouts experience were caused primarily by the fact that they dropped out of school, the obvious remedy would be to try to keep them in school or to get them back in school after they had dropped out. The Neighborhood Youth Corps In-School and Out-of-School programs attempted to achieve these goals with limited results. Very few youth, particularly in urban areas, drop out of school because of economic necessity or because their parents do not think it is necessary for them to finish high school. Most of them dropped out because they did not get along well in school.

The school dropout is one of the most important clients of employment and training programs because he suffers from inadequate academic preparation, behavioral deficiencies, and a negative attitude from employers and teachers. Possible remedial strategies and policies will be discussed in the last chapter of this report.

Vocational Training

Evidence is accumulating which supports the conclusion that the completion of vocational or skill training courses improves the labor market performance of youth. The 1970 Census, for example, included the following question: "Has this person ever completed a vocational training program? For example in high school; as apprentice; in school of business, nursing or trades; technical institute; or armed forces schools." Table 14 summarizes the results for the youth population. For most sex/age/race categories youth who completed vocational training had higher participation rates and lower unemployment rates than other youth. The results for black males, however, were mixed. Teenagers seemed to benefit from vocational training, while the young adults did not.

Table 14

LABOR FORCE STATUS OF COMPLETERS AND NON-COMPLETERS OF VOCATIONAL TRAINING, CIVILIAN POPULATION 16-24 YEARS OF AGE BY SEX AND RACE, 1970[1]

School Attainment, Age, and Labor Force Status	White Males Completers Yes	White Males Completers No	White Female Completers Yes	White Female Completers No	Black Male Completers Yes	Black Male Completers No	Black Female Completers Yes	Black Female Completers No
DID NOT COMPLETE H.S.								
16-19 years old								
Participation Rate	48.6	42.9	35.6	26.9	38.3	28.6	41.1	23.5
Unemployment Rate	9.8	11.7	9.8	13.2	19.3	19.6	23.7	26.1
20-24 years old								
Participation Rate	84.6	82.8	55.1	34.4	68.4	70.6	59.1	41.1
Unemployment Rate	8.3	9.4	7.7	12.5	16.0	12.8	14.3	18.0
H.S. GRADUATION, NO COLLEGE								
16-19 years old								
Participation Rate	70.5	59.2	67.2	53.5	61.8	56.3	55.8	45.9
Unemployment Rate	7.8	8.5	7.5	8.6	13.7	14.4	14.8	19.7
20-24 years old								
Participation Rate	91.6	90.4	68.0	55.3	81.5	83.1	72.4	60.
Unemployment Rate	5.5	6.4	4.8	6.3	9.6	8.7	10.2	11.0

---

[1] SOURCE: 1970 Census of Population, Subject Report on Vocational Training, PC(2)-5C.

In the national study of the 1972 High School Seniors, about 40% of the out-of-school males and 30% of the out-of-school females had participated in post-high school vocational training by October 1973. The results were similar to those obtained from the study of Census data. For most of the sex/race categories, participation in vocational training was associated with better labor market performance, but the results for black males was mixed in that labor force participation rates were higher but so were unemployment rates.

Table 15

LABOR FORCE STATUS OF OUT-OF-SCHOOL MEMBERS OF 1972 HIGH SCHOOL SENIORS SAMPLE BY RACE, SEX, AND PARTICIPATION IN POST-HIGH SCHOOL VOCATIONAL TRAINING PROGRAMS[1]

	Labor Force Participation in Training Program			
	Participated		Did Not Participate	
Race/Sex	Participation Rate (%)	Unemployment Rate (%)	Participation Rate (%)	Unemployment Rate (%)
White Males	95.9	1.4	91.9	4.0
White Females	87.6	4.5	78.5	8.2
Black Males	94.7	9.0	88.5	8.7
Black Females	86.1	20.6	73.3	24.6
Males	95.8	2.9	91.3	4.8
Females	87.1	7.8	77.3	10.9

Additional evidence for the favorable effects of vocational training is provided by the National Longitudinal Study.[2] Both male and female youth who had completed the vocational curriculum in high school earned a higher salary than other youth who were enrolled in the non-vocational curriculum and had not gone on to college. Training outside of the regular school system also appears to contribute to higher earnings. A longitudinal study of Neighborhood Youth Corps programs also came to similar conclusions. It found that NYC enrollees who had successfully completed skill training programs had much better employment outcomes than those who had not.[3]

---

[1] SOURCE: Special tabulation of October 1973 follow-up survey of the 1972 High School Seniors Study computer tapes.

[2] Career Thresholds, Vol. 1, pp. 97-99, Years For Decision, Vol. 2, p. 61.

[3] Walther, R.H. and Magnusson, M.L. A Longitudinal Study of Selected Out-of-School NYC-2 Programs in Four Cities. 1975 National Technical Information Service, PB 256 832.

On the basis of the present evidence it cannot be concluded that there is necessarily a cause and effect relationship between vocational training and labor market performance. It is possible that the youth who complete vocational training programs may differ from other youth in other important characteristics. Longitudinal data being developed by a number of studies should help resolve this issue. The poorer performance of black males is consistent with other measures of the labor market problems of this group and will also be discussed in more detail later in this report.

Child Care Responsibilities

Young women with young children frequently have child care responsibilities which compete with work responsibilities. As would be expected, the labor force participation rate of married women with children is lower than that of single women without children. When the woman heads a household with young children the problems are magnified. The number of female-headed households has been increasing in recent years because of the increasing illegitimacy rates and greater frequency of separation and divorce. The burden falls especially heavily on the young woman between 16 and 24 because she probably will be making her entry into the labor force during this period.

The incidence of young female-headed households with children is much greater among blacks than among whites. The illegitimacy rate for black mothers between the ages of 15 and 19 rose from 68.5 per thousand in 1950 to 89.7 in 1973.[1] The comparable rate for white mothers the same age was 5.[illegible] in 1950 and 10.7 in 1973, the ratio in 1973 of black to white being between 8 and 9 to 1. The illegitimacy rate does not tell the full story. Among black women who have been married, a significantly higher proportion are separated, widowed or divorced as compared to white women. Both the broken marriage and illegitimacy can lead to a mother-headed household with the mother responsible for the care of the children. The proportion of such households varies with the educational attainment of the mother and the area in which she lives. The highest proportions are found for young black females who are school dropouts and live in poverty areas. In the study of Neighborhood Youth Corps programs in Four Cities, almost 60% of the young black females (average age about 20) were supporting children without a husband present.

A comparison among unmarried black females in their late teens between those with and without children showed that the presence of dependent children did not influence labor force participation rates but did affect unemployment rates. (See Table 16) The young women with children were much more likely to be unemployed (34.7% compared with 24.2%). The high rate of labor force participation by unmarried young women with dependents also was found in the longitudinal NYC study.

---

[1] The National Center for Health Statistics, Final Natality Statistics, 1973.

Table 16

EMPLOYMENT STATUS OF UNMARRIED BLACK FEMALES BY PRESENCE OF DEPENDENTS AND ABSENCE OF DEPENDENTS

	N	Participation Rate	Unemployment Rate
Have dependents	196	73.5	34.7
Do not have dependents	845	72.4	24.2

Racial Discrimination

Discrimination in employment on the basis of race or ethnic origin has deep roots within the American culture paralleling a contrasting ethic contained in the Declaration of Independence that all men are created equal with inalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. In the 1960's with the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and other legislature and the institution of affirmative action programs, increased efforts were made by the Federal Government to eradicate discrimination. Not only is discrimination considered to be morally wrong, but the social costs are high, from the point of view of the unrealized potentials of the youth, the loss of productive capacity for the society, and the other social problems which are created by sporadic or irregular income.

Experience since World War II in attempting to assess the extent of labor market discrimination indicates that labor market disadvantage is not necessarily associated with race, ethnic, national origin, or religious characteristics. The three groups suffering the most disadvantage are blacks, Indians and Spanish-speaking groups. Other groups, which differ as much from the mainstream culture, do as well or better than whites.

Orientals, for example, have experienced significant discrimination in the past. They have a different skin color, speak a different language, and have a culture which does not share the European roots which are common to the cultures of most of the residents of the United States. They have also experienced legal discrimination in a number of forms, and, in the case of the Japanese, were forcibly removed from their homes during World War II because they were considered a threat. Yet as can be seen from Table 17, the Japanese and Chinese young people, rather than showing effects of

---

[1] SOURCE: Special tabulations of October 1973 follow-up survey of Longitudinal Study of 1972 High School Seniors.

Table 17

UNEMPLOYMENT RATES, 1970, BY RACE, ETHNIC ORIGIN, SEX, AND AGE. PERSONS 16-24 YEARS OLD[1]

Race & Ethnic Origin	Unemployment Rate		
	16-19	20-24	16-24
American Indian			
Male	21.1	16.2	17.8
Female	21.1	13.5	15.9
Negro			
Male	17.9	10.8	13.4
Female	21.8	11.9	15.0
Mexican origin			
Male	15.3	9.0	11.4
Female	15.2	9.3	11.5
Filipino origin			
Male	14.1	7.3	9.5
Female	10.5	5.8	6.9
Puerto Rican origin			
Male	14.8	7.0	9.4
Female	14.0	7.9	10.0
Cuban origin			
Male	11.4	5.6	8.1
Female	6.5	4.8	5.5
White			
Male	10.3	6.2	7.8
Female	10.4	5.9	7.5
Foreign born			
Male	*	*	6.8
Female	*	*	6.3
Chinese origin			
Male	6.2	6.3	6.3
Female	5.4	4.1	4.5
Japanese origin			
Male	7.0	5.1	5.8
Female	7.2	3.4	4.6

---

[1] SOURCE: U.S. Census 1970, PC(2)-1A-G, 6A.

discrimination, actually do better on many measures of labor market adjustment than do whites.

Data from the 1970 Census indicates that the unemployment rate for Oriental 16-19 year olds ranged from 5.4 to 7.2, compared to an average of 10.3 for whites, and from 17.9 to 21.8 for blacks. The better performance of youth of Asiatic extraction can probably be attributed to the strength of their culture and family structure, which tended to shield them from the effects of discrimination.

Further evidence for the importance of family background can be seen in the comparison of Spanish-speaking people of Cuban, Mexican and Puerto Rican origin. The labor market performance of the Cubans is very close to that of the whites, while that of the Mexicans and Puerto Ricans is significantly poorer. It should also be noted that foreign-born youth in general perform significantly better than the average of native-born youth.

The labor market problems of black youth are matters of particular concern because of the size of the black population (about 13% of the youth population), the long history of overt discrimination, and the severity of their labor market problems. Black youth do worse than white youth in every age, sex, and education achievement category, except perhaps for college graduates.

A look at the long-term trends indicates that the situation for non-white youth has been steadily deteriorating for a number of years. (See Figure 2 and Figure 3.) Twenty years ago, non-white and white males within the age bracket of 16-19 had roughly comparable participation and unemployment rates. Non-white females had a significantly higher unemployment rate than white females in 1954, but the gap has been steadily widening in the intervening period.[1] In 1975 the unemployment rate for out-of-school 16-17 year old non-whites exceeded 60%. This exceptionally high rate was partly a result of the economic downturn during 1975, but in the previous year when conditions were not as bad, it had reached 50%.

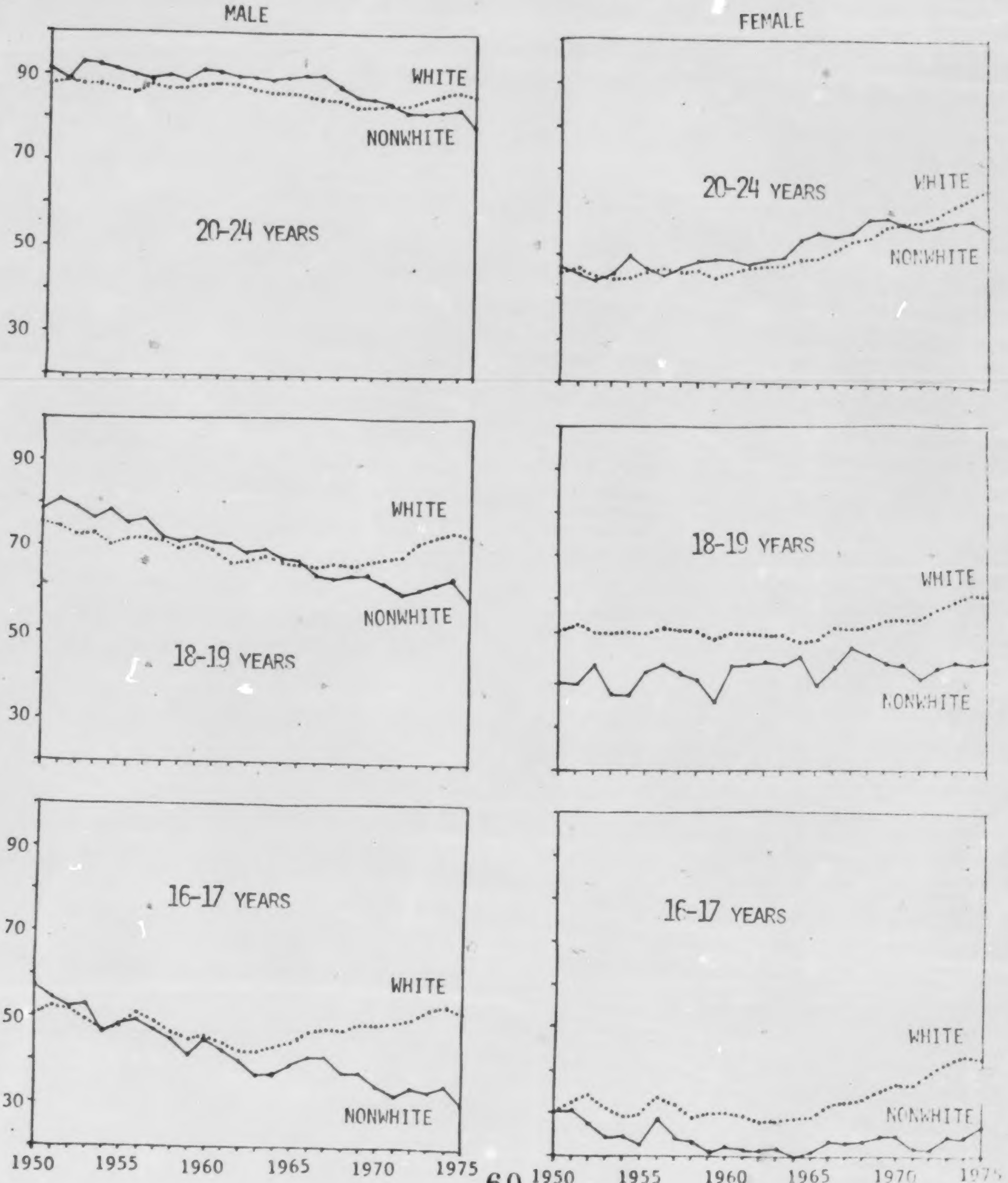
The obvious question raised by the worsening employment situation of black youth is why it should occur during a period when progress was apparently being made on reducing discrimination. It has been noted that black youth on the average come from lower socioeconomic classes, complete fewer grades in school, and score lower on academic achievement tests than do whites. These factors, however, can hardly cause the increase in maladjustment since black youth differed on these variables from white youth as much or more 20 years ago than they do today.

---

[1] The non-white category is primarily black. At the time of the 1970 Census, 89% of the category was black, and the remainder were American Indians, Eskimos, Asians and others.

FIGURE 2.

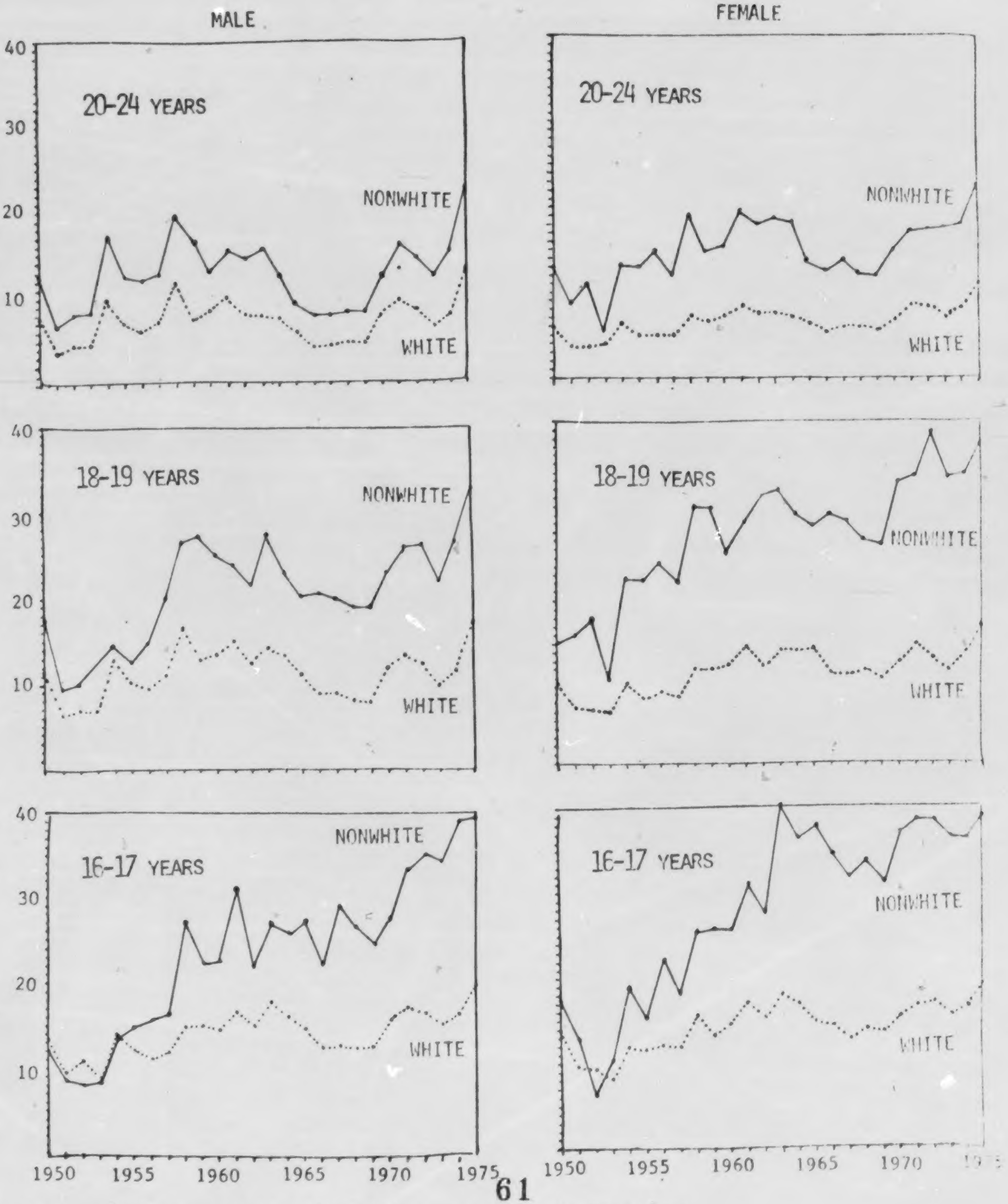
PARTICIPATION RATES, 1950-1975



Source: 1976 Employment and Training Report of the President

FIGURE 3.

UNEMPLOYMENT RATES, 1950-1975



Source: 1976 Employment and Training Report of the President

It has been suggested that the deterioration in the black youth employment situation results from the migration of blacks into the inner city of large cities, and the flight of the whites to the suburbs accompanied by the suburbanization of jobs. There is little evidence to support this assumption. What evidence is available indicates, if anything, that the number of low-skilled entry level jobs per resident in large central cities has increased rather than decreased. There is also no evidence that when educational attainment level is held constant that blacks in the suburbs make a better labor market adjustment than inner city black youth.[1]

There is also evidence that the youth themselves do not emphasize discrimination as a barrier to the achievement of their ten-year occupational goals. Black male school dropouts in the ghettos areas of two large cities were asked what impediments in the way of their achieving their ten-year occupational goals. Only about 2% mentioned discrimination.[2] In a longitudinal study of former Neighborhood Youth Corps enrollees and control subjects, an attempt was made to determine if there would be any substantial change if the subjects were asked specifically to evaluate discrimination as an impediment. All participants in the study were asked first if there were any impediments to their occupational goal, and then later in the interview they were asked specifically about discrimination. None of the subjects mentioned discrimination spontaneously; when they were specifically asked, only 6% said they thought discrimination was a factor.[3]

This seems to indicate that at least as far as ghetto youth are concerned, they do not perceive discrimination as a major factor influencing their occupational prospects. The subjects in both studies averaged about 20 years of age and may have had too little experience with the labor market to make a realistic appraisal of the problems they were facing. Another possibility is that long exposure to a segregated environment may have caused them to blame themselves for their difficulties and to overlook the discrimination being practiced on them. A third possibility is that discrimination at the hiring gate is not as widespread as is sometimes assumed.

---

[1] Masters, S.H. Black-White Income Differentials. New York: Academic Press, 1975.

[2] Walther, R.H., Magnusson, M., and Cherkasky, S. A Study of Negro Male High School Dropouts who are Not Reached by Federal Work Training Programs. National Technical Information Service #PB 202 110, Sept. 1970.

[3] Walther, R.H., Magnusson, M. A Longitudinal Study of Selecte Out-of-School NYC-2 Programs: Four Cities. National Technical Information Service. PB 256 532, June, 1975.

These data underline the extreme difficulty that is encountered when efforts are made to eliminate discrimination. It is apparent that the effects of discrimination are complex and very difficult to eradicate. The effects are pervasive and extend to the family structure, the availability and effectiveness of socializing agents, and especially to the quality of education available to the youth living within a segregated society. The result may be that the youth does not get training for work roles which can make him competitive with persons who have not lived in a segregated setting. During the transition stage, when some of the barriers are being removed, there may be over-reactions which in the short run are non-productive. The result may be that when opportunities are opened up and discrimination in employment has been reduced, the youth who has been reared under the conditions of discrimination may not be able in the beginning to use the newly available opportunities. It may take time before the changed opportunity structure has an impact.

Unemployment rates of black school dropouts remains high even when the general employment situation is favorable. In the study of high school dropouts who were not being reached by federal work-training programs, a high rate of unemployment (23%) was found during a period of general prosperity (Summer, 1969). The rate of employability difficulties was much higher (45%) if persons who were employed part-time, had withdrawn from the labor market or were in jail were added to the unemployed category.

It was concluded from this study that unemployment did not result primarily from a lack of available jobs. The interviewed subjects averaged 2.7 jobs in the period of approximately 2½ years since dropping out of school, and 12% had held six jobs or more. For the most part the pay received on the last or current job was considered satisfactory, since it averaged $2.19 per hour compared to an average of $2.01 per hour for the subjects' rating of the lowest pay which they would be willing to accept. Seventy percent of those whose employment had been terminated, moreover, left their most recent job because they had either quit, were fired, or were jailed; while only 18% left because the job ended.

These results are similar to those obtained from studies of school dropouts participating in Neighborhood Youth Corps programs and indicate that even when jobs become available to school dropouts at acceptable rates of pay, a significant proportion have difficulty in keeping their jobs, because of poor attitudes or skill deficiencies.

There is also some indication that black youth are reacting against "black jobs" such as domestic service for girls and laboring jobs for boys. Evidence for this trend is provided by 1975 CP data.[1] A smaller proportion of black than white teenagers in metropolitan areas were employed as private household workers (2.1% and 4.2%) and as non-farm laborers (12.5% and 13.5%). Black teenagers in non-metropolitan areas were still much more likely to be employed as non-farm laborers:

	Central City	Suburbs	Non-Metropolitan Areas
Non-Farm Laborers			
Whites	13.5	13.5	15.2
Blacks	12.4	12.5	22.4
Private Household Workers			
Whites	3.1	4.8	3.9
Blacks	2.1	2.3	3.5

The effects of past and present discrimination are complex and pervade many aspects of the culture of the group which has experienced this discrimination. It is important, however, if appropriate corrective measures are to be taken, to determine whether the current problem results from discrimination at the hiring gate or from poor attitudes, inadequate skills, or life style which conflicts with the requirement of work; all of which are part of the heritage from past discrimination. It is difficult on the basis of current available evidence to come to firm conclusions as to the relative contributions being made by each of these possible causes of the current unsatisfactory condition for black youth. In the next chapter an effort will be made to throw more light on these issues by examining the research evidence relating to hard-to-employ youth.

---

[1] Unpublished BLS computer runs.

IV

THE HARD-TO-EMPLOY YOUTH

In early parts of this report, certain broad conclusions have been drawn as to factors which are associated with the quality of labor market performance of youth. As the youth gets older, their labor force participation rates tend to increase and their unemployment rates drop, until at about age 25 it reaches the adult plateau. Educational attainment is clearly associated with labor market performance with the school dropout in the most disadvantaged position.

Other characteristics of persons making a good adjustment to the labor market have been examined in a wide range of studies during the past fifteen years. This chapter reviews studies of the hard-to-employ youth in an effort to extract findings which are relevant to planning and administering employment and training programs. In general, hard-to-employ youth are defined as a member of a minority group, not a regular member of the work force, less than a high school education, and qualifying under poverty guidelines.

The primary sources of information are: (a) a review of studies concerning the hiring, training and retraining of the so-called hard-core unemployed;[1] (b) Youth in Transition (YIT), a longitudinal study of a national sample of tenth grade boys;[2] (c) National Longitudinal Study (NLS), a longitudinal study of a national sample of 14-24 year old males and females;[3] (d) a study of successful persons from seriously disadvantaged background (SSP), a comparison of persons in black and chicano ghetto neighborhoods, making a good and poor adjustment to the labor market;[4] (e) a series of studies of Job Corps, WIN, and Employment Service clients using a Biographic Information Blank to differentiate between successful and unsuccessful clients (BIB);[1] (f) a longitudinal study of out-of-school Neighborhood Youth Corps programs in four cities which identified factors predicting employment outcomes several years after program participation (NYC).[2] The results from these five information sources are organized by topic.

---

[1] Goodman, P.S. et al. Hiring, training and retraining the Hard-Core Unemployed: A Selected Review. J. Applied Psych., 1973, Vol. 58, No. 1, 23-33.

[2] Bachman, J.G. et al., Youth in Transition, Vol. I-IV. Ann Arbor, Mich. Institute of Social Research, Univ. of Michigan.

[3] U.S. Dept. of Labor, Manpower Research Monograph, No. 16, Vol. I - VI, and Years for Decision, Vol. 1-2, U.S. Gov't. Printing Office.

[4] Glaser, E.M. and Ross, H.L., A Study of Successful Persons From Disadvantaged Backgrounds. A report submitted to the Manpower Administration, U.S. Dept. of Labor, 1970.

BIRTH PLACE

The birthplace or the geographical area where trainees spent their formative years seems related to their willingness to stay in training programs. Higher retention rates were reported for those born in the rural South, the West Indies, or Latin America as opposed to those from the urban North. This finding is consistent with the observation that unemployment rates are highest for youth living in the central cities of metropolitan areas. Evidence will be provided about the negative effects of strong peer group pressures in places where street life is important to the youth and which occurs more frequently in the urban North than in other places.

MARITAL STATUS

Married youth consistently perform better than unmarried youth, particularly among males. NLS results indicate that the youth's performance does not improve after he gets married, which suggests that it is the differences in the characteristics of those who get married rather than the effects of the responsibilities of marriage which makes the difference. Among those who are married, work performance is best among those with an intact, cohesive marriage, who are fully supporting their marital family, and have positive feelings toward their spouse. Perhaps the qualities which help to make a successful marriage also lead to successful work performance.

TEST SCORES

Scores on IQ and reading achievement tests were found to be associated positively with good performance. NLS results indicated, however, that mental ability per se was a less important cause of early success than was the amount of schooling completed. Mental ability also apparently has a significant effect on educational attainment -- the brighter and more skilled the youth, the less likely he was to drop out of high school and the more likely he was to enter college.

FAMILY BACKGROUND

Youth who came from a family with both parents present and not on welfare did better than those who came from a mother-headed family on welfare. Poor performers tended to come from families with unemployed adult members.

---

[1] Unpublished data in files of the Office of Research and Development, Employment and Training Administration, U.S. Dept. of Labor.

[2] Walther, R.H. and Magnusson, M.L. A Longitudinal Study of Selected Out-of-School NYC-2 Programs in Four Cities. National Technical Information Service. PB 256 832, 1975.

The socio-economic level of the family has been found in a number of studies to be associated with better labor market performance. NLS results, however, suggest that family background has its impact entirely through increasing ability scores and school attainment. After the effects of these two variables were controlled, the characteristics of a young man's parental family had virtually no impact on his later labor market achievement. Thus the socialization function of family and its ability to finance continued education was far more important than the "contacts" it may provide as determinants of a man's early labor market success.

FAMILY ATMOSTPHERE

Better labor market performance was associated with a warm supportive home atmosphere, in which the parental discipline was consistent, and the parents expected and demanded a good deal from the youth in terms of meeting standards of behavior or achievement and contributing to family welfare. It is apparently important that non-punitive disciplinary techniques be used. High levels of parental punitiveness were associated with poorer academic performance. It is possible, however, that the punitiveness may be as much a result as a cause of poor performance.

SCHOOL ACTIVITIES

The good performers were more likely to be good students in school, to have completed more years of school, had a better attendance record, liked school better, were less likely to think that teachers had it in for them, were more likely to have participated in school activities and to have gained recognition in school, and were more likely to have participated in athletics. Rebellious behavior in school was strongly related to educational attainment; for those who "often" engaged in rebellious behavior in school, nearly one-half later became dropouts. A recurring theme in the research is that success in school is a good predictor of further success in school or of success in work.

CONTACT WITH POLICE

The good performers were less likely to have been arrested or jailed as either a juvenile or as a young adult. Boys predisposed toward delinquent behavior were more likely to drop out of school before high school graduation.

PREVIOUS WORK RECORD

The good performers had worked in the past, stayed in a full-time job for a longer period of time, were more likely to have worked during the summer while in school, were more likely to have had a job they enjoyed, and were less likely to feel that bosses had given them a hard time, or that work is dull and boring. Inability to stay with past jobs, on the other hand, predicted future employment problems.

ROLE MODELS

The good performers were more likely while they were growing up to have admired someone in their family or school with "mainstream" values.

OPTIMISM

The good performers had a more positive attitude toward themselves and the world, felt more successful than siblings or youthful peers, were hopeful about getting ahead in mainstream life, were more likely to appear outwardly as if they liked themselves, thought of themselves as "good" people, and were confidant about the future. Self esteem was positively related to educational attainment, whereas poor school performance is associated with negative affective states.

SOCIALIZED VALUES

The good performers were more likely to think that education and hard work are the best ways to get ahead, were less likely to think that the wise person lives for today and lets tomorrow take care of itself, or that it is impossible to get ahead without breaking the law now and then. Commitment to social values (honesty, kindness, reciprocity, etc.) was positively related to educational attainment. On the other hand, strong impulses toward aggression were associated with dropping out of school.

TRUST

The good performers were less likely to believe that most people cannot be trusted or that you should get even with people who wrong you as soon as you can, and felt they had fewer enemies than the poor performers.

PERSONAL COMPETENCE

Evidence of having achieved past success in school and in work is associated with future success in these areas. Other evidences of successful performance of social roles are also favorable indicators. Examples are: has a savings or checking account, has a drivers license, owns a car, not in debt, and pays rent or house payments.

SELF-EVALUATION

The youth's evaluation of how well he is likely to do in future situations has been found to be correlated positively with actual outcomes. For example one of the best predictors of tenure in Job Corps training was the youth's own estimate of how long he would stay in the program.

RATINGS BY PROGRAM OFFICIALS

An appraisal of the youth by the staff of employment and training programs has been found to predict later performance. For example, in the longitudinal study of NYC-2 programs, the staff rated the youth at the time they entered the program on appearance, speech, self-confidence, attitude toward authority, self-management, interest in the program, and impressions of the youth's assets and liabilities with respect to job skills, work experience, and education. These ratings proved to be good predictors of post-program employment outcomes.

PLANNING AHEAD

The good performers were more likely to have developed an occupational goal early and to have long-range goals. The time perspective within which they made their plans tended to be longer than that of the poor performer.

ATTITUDE TOWARD PEERS

The good performer was less likely to be deeply involved in street life, self-esteem seemed to come more from some occupational or educational achievement than from knowing or being friendly with some set of people or in belonging to some group. The good performers were more likely to identify with their families while the poor performers identified more with people in the street. The good performers were more likely to feel alienated from ghetto life and from their peers on the street. The poor performer was more likely to feel completely at home among his peers on the street.

MAINSTREAM VS. STREET LIFE

Glaser and Ross suggest that there are two sub-cultures, both of which exist in both black and Mexican-American ghettos:

- Mainstream life is characterized by a work and achievement ethic, close family ties and loyalties, avoidance of trouble with the law, stability on the job, taking responsibility for one's own destiny, orderly planning for long-range goals, the ability to sustain activity in goal-directed behavior, and an ability to make a somewhat harmonious adjustment to the larger social order.

- Street life or gang life is characterized by an ethic of toughness, shrewdness, hustling, violence, an emphasis on having a reputation among one's peers, a lessened concern with family responsibilities and loyalties than with ties to peers, a glorification of anti-social acts (in the mainstream sense), and the absence of long-range planning or goal-setting, in favor of immediate gratification, all combined with a rejection of most mainstream values.

The authors go on to state that the street culture is not an agglomeration of individuals but an identifiable sub-culture characterized by a separate set of values, a separate ethic and a life style to which its members are actively acculturated, and whom it serves as any other sub-culture would. Thus working and not working, being self-supporting and not, are not isolated characteristics or events, but tend to be expressions of a more general life style which characterizes membership in one or the other of the subcultures that exist in the ghetto. Not working is acceptable and consistent with the ethics of one sub-culture; working is part of an entire way of life that coincides with membership in the other.

Once started on one sub-cultural track in the ghetto, it is not surprising that the developing child becomes increasingly alienated from alternative sub-cultures which he rejects and which repudiate him. In the black community, there appears to be a great differentiation and mutual rejection between the (ghetto) mainstream and the street culture. Mutual exclusion is not as great in the Mexican-American community. There, for example, belonging to a gang does not appear, necessarily, to mean a permanent commitment to street life. For the Mexican-American, the gang appears to gratify and reinforces powerful cultural ideals that relate to "macho", a Latin tradition of masculinity. While many mainstream Mexican-American families pressure their children not to join gangs, being a member of a gang is often looked upon as an age-related developmental stage, which the boy is expected to outgrow in the normal course of events.

The authors ask why some youth are assimilated into the mainstream and others into the street life sub-cultures. They conclude that one of the most consistent findings was that as successful individuals remembered their childhood, there was at least one strong parent in the house who had high expectations of his child in terms of achievement and behavior and who was effective in setting controls on his child's behavior, insisting that he behave in accordance with these standards. An effective parent, then appears to have served as an "assimilating agent" guiding the child into the black or Mexican-American mainstream. Once his ties to the (ghetto) mainstream were established, he could no longer have been assimilated easily into street culture. Even though he may have become temporarily involved in gang activity and street life during adolescence, he was rarely so alienated from the mainstream that he did not return to it after adolescence with relatively little difficulty.

COMPETING COMPETENCIES

Another researcher who has studied the labor market experience of hard-to-employ youth has come to similar conclusions although the way in which he conceptualizes the problem is somewhat different.[1] He concluded that during the 1960's a different type of unemployment became recognized as a serious social and economic problem, particularly in the large metropolitan areas, where, for periods of time, there were more jobs than there were workers willing to fill them. Able-bodied non-institutionalized youth in the prime working ages appeared reluctant to seek work on their own initiative and were disinclined to accept work when it was made available through outside intervention. The term "motivational" was used to characterize those jobless persons whose non-participation in the labor force was presumably by choice.

This led to the conclusion that the presence of large numbers of motivational unemployed suggests that fundamental social changes have taken place and that basic beliefs, which in the past could be depended upon to bridge individuals to the larger community, are no longer effective for that purpose. When there is job scarcity, the motivational unemployed are indistinguishable from the non-voluntary unemployed and therefore go unnoticed. When jobs are plentiful, they gain high public visibility because jobs go unfilled while able-bodied potential workers are unemployed or out of the labor force. Simplifying job requirements, adjusting wages, increasing on-the-job training, or even allowing quality standards to decline have not made a great deal of difference. An effort, moreover, to deal directly with attitudinal and motivational forces through counseling and related techniques have been less than satisfactory.

Based on the results from two social intervention programs, a theory of "competing competencies" was developed to account for chronic unemployment, particularly among some of the most talented youth. Talented as used here means success in meeting the requirement of street life. The theory maintains that pre-existing competencies are sometimes incompatible with and hamper the acquisition of skills necessary for satisfactory adjustment to the employment setting.

Central to the theory of competing competencies is the conviction that people are motivated to do the things they do best -- that a competent self-image is something which everyone is motivated to achieve and maintain. People are motivated to: (a) maintain pre-established competencies and the present level of competency they represent; (b) enhance one's position in society through the execution of their already established competencies rather than to acquire new competencies; (c) avoid prolonged commitment to activities that threaten the person's sense of competency; and

---

[1] Caplan, N. Competency Among Hard-to-Employ Youth. Report submitted to the Manpower Administration, Dept. of Labor, 1973.

(d) reestablish one's sense of competency level when it has been lowered. Postulated here is an inseparability between skills and motivation.

According to the researcher, the major barrier to successful employment for many "hard-to-employ" youth does not come from their lack of motivation or skills. Actually they are highly motivated and highly skilled in the sense that: (a) they are motivated to do the things they can do best; and (b) those activities in which they have the highest level of proficiency are related negatively to job success. Their inability to keep employment may be best understood as the consequence of successful habituation to their socialization community or to sub-cultural settings within that community.

The competing competencies theory was used to explain what the researcher called the "blot out" phenomenon. A trainer, after weeks and sometimes months of hard work, would manage to bring a youth to the brink of success along a variety of change dimensions only then to experience a crushing defeat in the very flush of victory. A youth about to re-enter school, take a job, give up delinquent associations, stop drinking, or reform some other kind of misbehavior, would often respond by cancelling out months of progress in a spectacular way that could not be easily remedied. The "blot out" was not unusual but occurred with such frequency that trainers began to exercise cautious restraint at the perilous juncture in their relationships with their youth client when he was most likely to "blot out."

In the JOBS program the point at which trainees were most likely to fail was the transition from the project to an actual work situation. The closer the trainee came to actual employment, the more irrational the justification for failure seemed to be from the outside point of view.

SUMMARY

This chapter reviews the characteristics of hard-to-employ youth which differentiates them from youth making a good adjustment to the labor market. A wide range of demographic and attitudinal variables were found to be predictive. In general the quality of past performance was found to be a good predictor of future performance. Good performers had done better in school, had less contact with the police, came from a more effective and functioning family; had a better work record, had attitudes more consistent with the mainstream culture. Poor performers identified more with the peer culture of the street and sometimes had developed competencies in street life which interfered with developing work-relevant skills.

V

SOME GUIDING PRINCIPLES

In the last three chapters the youth labor force has been described, impediments to the employment of youth discussed, and a review made of the special problems of hard-to-employ youth. This chapter discusses useful principles for planning and administering employment and training programs. Attention will be directed in the next and final chapter to a review of specific program components and strategies for assisting youth with inadequate socialization in making the transition from school to work.

GENERAL PRINCIPLES

Youth will be impeded in making an adjustment to the labor market by the following conditions:

- Lack of realistic opportunities.
- Belief that there's no opportunity available.
- Lack of appropriate skills and knowledge.
- Lack of confidence in ability to succeed.

Employment and training programs will limit their effectiveness unless they deal with the full range of problems facing their clients implied by the above four categories of problems.

Need for Realistic Opportunities

Opportunity is, of course, the basic requirement. Without opportunity for employment, an individual's personal resources can not help him very much. Limitations on opportunity include scarcity of jobs, unfair discrimination, and frictional unemployment.

Scarcity of Jobs

A basic goal for economic policy is to create a healthy economy which creates enough jobs to employ the available labor force. To the extent that this goal is not achieved, the government should take the responsibility to create enough jobs directly to absorb the unemployed.

As the minimum wage levels required by law have been raised and more jobs covered, it seems likely that jobs for youth have been reduced. Future change can be expected to aggravate the situation. Youth are less experienced and frequently less mature and dependable than adults and thus less attractive to employers. Some wage differential to compensate for this difference is probably required. Perhaps the differential should be tied to both age and length of work experience.

Young students, because of their unusual vulnerability to unemployment, caused in part by the fact that they are primarily seeking temporary, part-time or summer work, should be given special attention. Work is important to them both as a source of income that permits them to stay in school, and as a source of experience which teaches them about the requirements of work and what different types of work can offer them. Early involvement in work appears to improve their employability, and society needs to provide them with full-time work during the summer and part-time work during the school year.

Unfair Discrimination

It is essential that the obstacles that society places in the path of some of its members be removed. It should be noted that discrimination is often subtle and hard to recognize even by its victims. Great effort and continuous vigilance is required to eradicate discrimination in all of its forms.

While all members of the labor force should have a fair chance for available jobs, it should not be concluded that there should be no discrimination. Any time that there are more candidates than there are jobs of a particular type, decisions will need to be made as to which candidates will be accepted and which rejected. A social consensus as to what is fair, implemented by laws, formal agreements, and custom is a frequent basis for making these decisions. Potential performance level, seniority, and age are three widely accepted criteria which are not likely to change. Youth will probably continue to be discriminated against in competition with adults, and to most adults this will seem a fair type of discrimination since youth will get their turn later when they are older. Affirmative action may be needed to ensure that youth have enough access to work experience to teach them about the requirements of work and what different types of work can offer them.

Discrimination on the basis of sex, race, religion, national origin or family background is contrary to the American belief in equity and the mandate to eliminate such discrimination is clear. Discrimination on the basis of educational or other credentials is more difficult to evaluate and has two aspects. First, the mandate is clear to eliminate unfair discrimination which limits the ability of any category of youth to obtain needed credentials. Second, there is a growing view that credentials should be used to discriminate among candidates only when it has been established that they have some relationship to job performance.

This is a complex question and the answer depends in part on whether the credential is used as an indicator of specific jobs skills, general coping skills, or promotional potential. An employer, for example, may have concluded that high school graduates are more dependable than school dropouts, and use the high school diploma as a proxy for dependability. In such situations, the employer should be encouraged or perhaps required to use other proxies for dependability so that the persons without the credential but who meet the dependability criterion can be given fair consideration for the job. Otherwise there may be two negative social consequences. First, the access to the credential may have been limited by unfair discrimination and thus using the credential as a requirement for the job may be an extension of unfair discrimination. Second, candidates may feel compelled to obtain credentials which are unrelated to job performance and thus waste their money and their time.

Racial discrimination is a particularly important and difficult problem. It is important because of the wide variation in unemployment rates associated with race. It is difficult because of the complexity of the problems which have been encountered when efforts are made to eliminate discrimination. The deterioration in the employment situation for black youth, for example, occurred at least in part during a time when extensive efforts were being made to increase the opportunities for blacks.

It has become apparent that the effects of discrimination are complex and very difficult to eradicate. The effects are pervasive and extend to the family structure, the availability and effectiveness of socializing agents, and especially to the quality of education available to the youth living within a segregated society. The result may be that the youth does not get the training for work roles which can make him competitive with persons who have not lived in a segregated setting. During the transition stage, when some of the barriers are being removed, there may be overreactions which are unproductive. The result may be that when opportunities are opened up and discrimination in employment has been reduced, the youth who have been reared under the conditions of discrimination may not, in the beginning, be able to use the newly available opportunities.

Discrimination on the basis of sex has deep roots within American culture and has been subjected to recent vigorous challenges. The primary impact on youth is in the area of pay differentials favoring males and stereotyping of education, training, and hiring practices resulting in sharp differences in occupational and industry distribution of the labor force by sex. Women's employment problems now lie in an inability to find or take jobs commensurate with their abilities and rising expectations. Training and employment practices need to be revamped to offer the same range of occupational choices to both men and women; discrepancies in salaries eliminated; and arrangement made for child care and more flexibile hours of work to increase options available to the mother who wants to work.

Frictional Unemployment

Frictional unemployment occurs when employers want to fill job vacancies which could be filled by applicants seeking work, but the two have not found each other. Manpower programs can speed up the process by giving applicants useful information about job vacancies and by training clients in job seeking and job application skills. The client is able to keep his frictional unemployment to a minimum when he has adequate occupational information about the opportunities available to him, when he understands himself -- his abilities, interests, and values -- and appreciates how personal characteristics relate to various vocational options.

Frictional unemployment can be expected to be an important cause of unemployment among youth because a high proportion are entrants or reentrants into the labor force and many of them are still involved with vocational exploration.

Need to Believe that Opportunities are Available

Not only must opportunities be available, but the youth must know about them, and believe that they are available to them. Otherwise there will be no motivation to use the opportunities. One of the goals of manpower programs concerned with disadvantaged groups is to help them see that when discriminations are no longer operative, that new opportunities are now available, which have expanded the options open to them.

Some youth will benefit from information about available educational, training, and job opportunities. It is therefore important that manpower programs have the information available and be able to communicate it effectively to their clients. Many youth, however, have developed attitudes over a period of time which make it difficult for them to use the information. Their attitudes toward themselves and toward the world need to be changed before they can take advantage of new opportunities. One of the best ways to change such attitudes is to expose the youth to persons with whom he can identify who have "made it." Such persons serve as models to the youth as to what is possible for them.

Need for Appropriate Skills and Knowledge

Adequate job performance requires appropriate knowledge and skills. Unemployment can occur when suitable jobs are available but cannot be filled by unemployed persons available for the work because these persons are unable to do the work. This is proving to be one of the most intractable of the problems encountered by manpower programs. The conventional solution is skill training in the areas in which there are job vacancies. In many situations, these programs achieve significant success, but often they do not. The trainees may acquire the basic task skills and then perform poorly on the job, but more frequently the trainees do not complete the training even though it is to their interest to do so and they have no other employment options of the same quality. Likewise job failures at all levels of work difficulty often result not from lack of task-related knowledge or skills but from so-called "personality difficulties." The reported problems frequently have to do with work punctuality, regularity of attendance, dealing with authority and getting along with others.

Because of these considerations employers often place specific skill training far below other qualities of the worker. A frequent statement made by employers is "give me a good man and I will train him." Workers tend to agree. In a study of the formal occupational training of workers, it was found that only about 12% reported that formal training was the most useful way to learn their job and only 30% said it was one way of learning the job. For blue collar workers the figures are much lower. For example, only about five percent of the operatives or kindred workers say that formal training is best.[1]

Coping Skills

It is important at this stage to make a distinction between specific task skills and coping skills because coping skills are more basic to the performance of work, govern a person's performance over a longer period of time and over a wider range of circumstances. If an individual has adequate coping skills, he can, if he is given enough time and adequate on-the-job instruction, learn the specific skills required for most jobs. On the other hand, without adequate coping skills, he is likely to fail on the job even if his specific job skills are adequate. As a corollary, if he has inadequate coping skills, he is unlikely to be able to complete a specific job skill training program involving complex skills and sustained application.

Coping skills are defined here as those competencies which permit the individual to function within formal or informal social groups. Included are developing and executing plans, working with others, controlling impulses, processing and interpreting information, communicating, problem solving, and working within an authority structure.[2]

The social development of the individual takes place over a long period of time, and is largely sequential in nature in that one stage of development often must be completed successfully before the next can be performed adequately. Most of the major institutions of society are involved in this process with the major inputs coming from the family and the schools.

---

[1] Formal Occupational Training of Adult Workers. Manpower/Automation Research Monograph No. 2, U.S. Dept. of Labor, Dec. 1964.

[2] "Coping skills" as used here are similar to the "adaptive skills" discussed by Sidney A. Fine. Fine, however, makes a distinction between adaptive skills, functional skills, and specific content skills; while we make a distinction between coping skills and task skills. See Sidney A. Fine, "Nature of Skills: Implication for Education and Training." Proceedings, 75th Annual Convention, American Psychological Association, 1967.

The specific methods used for socializing individuals have evolved largely without conscious planning, and thus problems are often created when individuals do not attain competence in particular skills at the time that the training is provided by the society. Competence is not expected until a particular age and, up to that time, there is considerable tolerance of exploratory behavior. As an example, little notice is taken of a male in his early teens who gets into a physical fight -- this is considered part of the "growing up" process. However, a young adult male who gets in a fist fight may be charged with assault and battery or disturbing the peace; and, almost certainly, such behavior would be considered a serious matter if it occurs on a job.

Unfortunately since socialization techniques have developed as part of an evolutionary process, effective remedial programs often are not available for individuals who fall out of the mainstream of socialization. The acquisition of coping skills normally begins in the early developmental years, primarily in the family situation and among one's peers, and is reinforced and expanded in the school situation and later in the work situation. In general, competence in appropriate coping skills must be achieved before task skills can be utilized.

This paper will describe some of the coping skills which appear to be required for successful functioning in adult roles, and will suggest strategies for remediating deficiencies in the socialization process. An important point which needs to be made in the beginning is that effectiveness of socialization has to be judged in terms of the potentials and requirements of the life situation of the individual. A successful adjustment to one environement does not necessarily guarantee a successful adjustment to another. For example, a child brought up within a neurotic family situation may learn modes of adapting to his parents which may be malfunctional when applied to adult roles in his society. Likewise, persons who have grown up in disadvantaged, racist, or ghetto environments frequently have developed coping behavioral patterns, which may be suitable in their usual environment, but which are essentially non-adaptive in normal work situations. Such behaviors are frequently hard to change because they become embedded in the life style of the individual. Examples of coping skills which were found to be adaptive in one setting but not in another are described in Chapter IV, where contrasts were drawn between (ghetto) mainstream and street life sub-cultures within the ghetto.

Research into the psychological dimensions of work has suggested a number of significant categories of coping skills which appear to be important in performing work.[1]

Self-Management. Some degree of self-regulation or self-management is essential to almost any type of achievement. An individual needs to organize and systematize his activities, to plan what he is going to do in the future, and to keep his emotions under control. These qualities are related to the psychological concepts of deferment of gratification, future orientation, and impulse control. It should be noted, however, that too much self-regulation can also be maladaptive. Excessive planning and control can lead to a lack of spontaneity and an inability to enjoy life. Plans can be so complicated or so long range that they can never be completed. A person can be so thoroughly organized that he is unable to adapt his behavior to current realities; or feelings can be kept under so much control that the person behaves artificially or bottles up his resentments inside himself.

---

[1] See Regis H. Walther, *The Psychological Dimensions of Work*, 1972. ERIC ED 003-075. These coping skills have also been called behavioral styles.

Perceptual vs. Abstract Orientation. Piaget, a Swiss psychologist, has shown that children go through stages of intellectual development in which the child frees himself from a dependence on his senses and is able to deal with his life situation through abstractions. Depending upon abstractions, provided they are adequate representations of reality, is much more effective than responding directly to sensory information. Piaget gives a number of examples of how young children will respond in terms of "how things look" rather than in terms of a principle. A person whose intellectual development does not permit him to deal effectively with appropriate abstractions loses effectiveness in the performance of adult roles.

Problem Solving Style. Effective problem solving requires some degree of application of scientific method in which problems are defined, hypotheses developed and tested in practice. The most primitive approach to problem solving is pure "trial and error" in which the first possibility occurring to the individual is tried without much thought. A more sophisticated approach is to depend either upon past experience or upon theory. The advantage of the "past experience" approach is that the wisdom from the past can be used to guide the present. The disadvantage is that the present is to some degree different from the past and these differences may be important. The advantage of the "theoretical" approach is that the individual is able to extract the variables at work in a situation and manipulate them in a new situation so as to predict consequences. It thus becomes possible to make predictions without having experienced the exact set of circumstances in the past. The disadvantage is that the theories may not be valid and thus predictions may be inaccurate. Effective use of theories requires that they continually be tested empirically to determine their validity. The best strategy is the proper blending of theory, empiricism, "trial and error," and past experience.

Frame of Reference Flexibility. An important intellectual and interpersonal skill is the ability to see things from a different physical or interpersonal position than that occupied by the individual. Inability to take the role of the other, to see things from his point of view, or to predict his behavior, influences adversely the effectiveness of a person's behavior. The ability to take the role of the other increases the correctness of one's anticipation and prediction of the other's behavior. Since the behavior of the other is frequently the basis for one's own future behavior, skill in role taking facilitates effective social interaction.

Reconciling Conflicting Demands. In most social situations conflicting demands are imposed on the individual. These may be conflicts between the demands of formal and informal social groups. For example, a youth who belongs to a delinquent subculture may be pressured to behave in a way which is unacceptable to parents, schools, or employers. There can also be role conflicts, or different instructions coming from different parents, teachers, or levels within an organization. Some skill at resolving such conflicts is probably desirable in all jobs and the level of skill becomes more critical as the complexity of the job increases.

Reconciling Conflicts of Interest. In order to get anything done through people, the conflicts of interest of the people and groups involved must be taken into consideration. Strategies have to be developed or compromises reached which keep such conflicts of interest from blocking the enterprise. The lack of this skill may not be detrimental for the most routine jobs, but becomes increasingly a problem as the complexity of the activity increases and requires obtaining results through influencing the actions of other people.

Relation to Authority. Work situations almost always involve some authority structure through which the activities of workers are coordinated, instructions are transmitted, and decisions made. All successful workers in such situations must be able to fit within an authority structure. From one point of view, the easiest adjustment is one of absolute obedience, thus avoiding any decisions on the part of the worker. Such a style of behavior, however, requires the ability to conform oneself to the requirements of the boss. To the degree that the worker functions independently, he must have the capacity for self-discipline to replace the discipline imposed by the boss; and the ability to recognize which decisions he is able to make himself and which ones he should refer to a higher authority. The most adaptive style for dealing with authority is a flexible one in which the individual is able to vary the relationship depending upon the circumstances. Sometimes he obeys implicitly and at other times he functions independently. Inadequately socialized individuals are frequently unable to do either.

Reaction to Aggression. When interacting with other people, it is almost inevitable that a person will encounter situations in which someone behaves aggressively toward him or tries to push him around. Aggression is defined here as the exercise of illegitimate power. It is essential that the individual have available techniques which permit him to cope with such situations without paying too heavy a price. Physical methods of reacting are usually unacceptable, but in some situations, it is necessary to resist or oppose the aggression. At other times a strategy of accomodation is best, and in still other situations, it is best to withdraw.

It is obviously desirable to be able to vary the strategy depending upon the situation, but some people are unable to do this and react to aggressive behavior in the same way regardless of the circumstances. Such inflexibility limits the effectiveness of their coping behavior.

Information Processing Style. Life situations provide the individual with an overabundance of information, far more than he can handle at a conscious level. He needs to be able to select, organize, and interpret information in a way which is appropriate to the situation. There is no single information processing strategy which is applicable to all situations; and to be most effective, the individual needs a flexible style. One dimension is the relative emphasis given to either speed or accuracy. Sometimes rapid decisions are required involving only partially explicit considerations. In such cases, an impressionistic, intuitive approach is most effective, and a delayed response is often no response at all because the situation has changed and the opportunity to react has gone. In other situations, the emphasis is on accuracy rather than speed. In these situations, a rational, logical approach depending upon a formal, deliberate methodology is most effective.

Interpersonal Skills. Contact with other people is an inevitable component of all social roles and therefore some skill in interpersonal relations is essential. An important issue with respect to interpersonal relations concerns competition and cooperation. To some degree, both are required of the individual, and an exclusive concentration on one or the other is almost certain to lead to difficulties. A person who considers only his own goals is bound to create hostility and lose the social satisfactions obtainable from cooperation. The person who focuses entirely on the desires of others and does not consider his own wishes, loses the ability to pursue personal goals.

Integration of Coping Skills

Coping skills do not function in isolation but as an integrated part of the on-going behavior of the individual. They are the instrumentalities through which the individual achieves basic goals of protecting himself from danger and achieving an adequate level of satisfaction and a sense of value.

Coping skills are both difficult to learn and to change because they tend to be so complex. The reasons for this can be better understood by examining the need for the individual to conserve his conscious decision making resources and the nature of his belief system.

Each individual functions in a world too complex for continuous, consciously determined response. The human brain has a huge information storage capacity but limited channel capacity for the moment-to-moment processing of information. A person thus can deal with a very limited amount of information at one time; yet there is an almost limitless amount of information which could be noticed, an almost infinite number of decisions to be made and physical actions to be completed at the physiological, psychological, and sociological levels in order for the individual to function adequately in the world. Almost all determinations as to what to notice, what it means, what to do about it, and the actual physical manipulations of both the individual's internal and external environment need to be performed automatically through complex patterns of behavior which are available to the individual with a minimum amount of conscious effort.

Individuals necessarily develop customary ways for dealing with recurring situations and reserve conscious information processing and decision making for non-standard occasions. This coping behavior gives rise to characteristic types of performances or behavioral styles -- conscious and unconscious -- in various life situations.

Since their elements work together as part of a functioning system, coping skills are very difficult to change. Experience sometimes results in slow change; but planned change requires the use of a good deal of conscious effort, frequently more than the individual is able or willing to expend. There is probably no greater threat to an individual than an undermining of his capacity to function as an integrated whole. Under such circumstances the individual will fight desperately to ward off what he considers to be threats to his personality.

Coping skills and competency as described by Caplan[1] are very similar concepts. Competency is the end result while coping skills are the processes through which results are achieved. A restatement of Caplan's discussion of competencies helps to explain why coping skills are so difficult to develop and to change.

People are motivated to do the things they do best. A competent self-image is something which all people are motivated to achieve and maintain. People generally prefer to execute their already established coping skills rather than to acquire new ones, and to avoid prolonged commitment to activities that threaten their sense of competency. Coping skills developed in one setting can be maladaptive in another, and the initial set of skills can be incompatible with and hamper the acquisition of skills necessary for satisfactory adjustment to the employment setting.

Coping skills are the means by which the individual achieves the goals of safety, satisfaction, and a sense of value. The reinforcements he receives from his life situation can be divided into two categories: intrinsic rewards from the performance of certain types of activity and a feeling of being worthwhile or being of value. The individual's concepts of what is worthwhile are acquired primarily from the society in which he lives, while his ideas as to what is fun are probably influenced more by his own personal experiences and biological predispositions.

---

[1] See Chapter IV for a discussion of Caplan's theory of competency competencies.

It is important to note that the activities a person values or considers worthwhile are not necessarily the same as the activities he enjoys, or which he can perform well. Some people are suspicious about the worthwhileness of anything which is fun and doubtful about the enjoyability of any activities which they value. Nonetheless, for the person to feel satisfied with his situation, it is necessary that he get adequate returns in both areas.

Another point which needs emphasis is that the individual develops a set of expectations as to what he considers to be a satisfactory level of positive reinforcement. His motivation to perform in the relevant roles will be diminished if his minimum acceptable level of reinforcement is unattainable. This becomes a major problem for individuals who have been socialized under one set of circumstances and have to live under another set which provides less opportunity for satisfaction. Wealthy men who lost their money in the stock market crash of 1929 had extreme difficulty adjusting to the relative poverty of the depression years. Likewise a ghetto youth who has attained high status in the life of the street may have difficulty adjusting to opportunities provided by the regular economy.

Beliefs

In the preceeding section it was pointed out that activity preferences, values, and coping skills are important components of a person's adaptation to his environemnt. For the individual to perform reasonably well in adult roles and to obtain an adequate level of satisfaction from these performances, there must be a reasonably adequate match between the individual's activity preferences, values, and coping skills with the behavioral requirements and satisfaction potential of his life situation. In other words, the person has to be able to perform adequately, obtain reasonable enjoyment, and receive a sense of personal value or worthwhileness from the roles available to him. These components of his personality are organized through his belief system.

Everyday experience, as well as a large body of research, indicates that a person's actions are guided by his beliefs. A person reacts to the world through a perceptual frame of reference which influences his judgments, attitudes, and behavior. His irrational acts, no less than his rational acts, are guided by how he represents his circumstances to himself. His behavior usually makes sense to him in terms of his own system of beliefs, no matter how bizarre it may appear to an outsider. Beliefs do not exist in isolation, but within larger belief systems. Each individual constructs for himself his own meaningful world, through a comprehensive belief system which takes into account all aspects of his environment that he considers to be important as well as his estimation of his abilities and his goals. An individual's belief system serves as a "cognitive map" guiding his behavior.

Beliefs can have a rational, cultural, or emotional basis. Some beliefs are based upon and supported by an individual's observations combined with reasoning. Other beliefs are essentially social and cultural in nature. They are the things which in any given society or social group "everyone knows" without need of proof. Such beliefs may or may not be based on observation, and may or may not be logically consistent with other beliefs. Finally, there are beliefs which enable the individual to feel better about something which would otherwise produce an unpleasant or distressful emotional state. Any given belief may have all three elements inherent in it, but the relative proportions vary greatly.

A person's activity preferences, values, and coping skills are reflected in his belief system. A person also has a set of basic beliefs which orient him to the world in terms of optimism or pessimism, self-confidence or self-doubt, and trust or suspicion. Although these beliefs are usually correlated with each other, sometimes they are not. For example, some individuals may be optimistic about receiving satisfactions in the normal course of events, but have little confidence in their own ability to influence outcomes. They feel that the world is a good place, but that it is best to take things as they come. Other individuals may be very self-confident, but very distrustful of other people. They may view the world as a dangerous jungle, but are confident of their own ability to take care of themselves. This pattern is often found with juvenile delinquents.

Two aspects of basic beliefs should be considered. First, a person's basic beliefs often influence to a significant degree what happens to him in specific situations. Perhaps a mechanism sometimes called the "self-fulfilling prophecy," in which a person's expectations can often influence the outcome is at work. A person who expects hostility acts in a way which increases the chances that he will be treated in a hostile manner; while, conversely, a person who expects friendship acts in a way to increase the chances of a friendly response. In both cases, expectations are confirmed, and the basic belief is reinforced.

Secondly, attitudes at either extreme of these three dimensions of optimism, self-confidence, and trust may be non-functional and may represent an unrealistic appraisal of the world or of the individual's abilities. The individual needs to some degree to be able to appraise accurately the reality of the situation. He needs to recognize situations in which satisfaction is likely and when it is not; he needs to know when he is likely to succeed and when he is likely to fail; and he needs to know whom he can trust and whom he cannot, and under what circumstances.

Belief systems have three distinct characteristics. First, they are the person's theory for understanding the world he lives in; and as such, they are effective when they counsel action which meets the individual's needs. Secondly, they simplify the choices which the individual needs to make at any one time so that excessive demands are not made on conscious resources. Third, they protect the functioning of the individual so that he is not overwhelmed with excessive feelings. Belief systems thus serve as defense mechanisms through which information is filtered to reduce its emotional content to a level which permits it to be processed by adaptive programs and permits behavior to continue under stress. Belief systems thus tend to be highly resistant to any change which creates too much uncertainty or too much of an emotional threat. As a result, human beings seem to have a basic psychological need to maintain consistency, stability, and order in their perception of the world.

One of the perplexing problems of personality development is that there appears to be a "tipping point" above which individuals tend to improve and below which they tend to lose ground. A person who is optimistic, self-confident, and trustful will try new things and thus will improve his skills and increase the range of options available to him. Persons who are below the "tipping point" do not attempt new things or approach new situations in a way which will not make failure likely and thus restrict the range of their options. A particularly difficult problem is presented by culturally disadvantaged groups because of the effect that discriminatory practices in the past have on current attitudes and skills. A vicious cycle often seems to be created; the person does not learn new skills because of poor attitudes, and his attitudes cannot be changed because his skill level is too low. Somehow, this vicious cycle must be broken, if remediation is to be effective.

LACK OF SELF CONFIDENCE

The individual not only must possess the required knowledge and ability, but he also must believe in himself and in his ability to achieve success. One of the by-products of discrimination and lack of opportunity is that some individuals become convinced that they are deficient in comparison with others. Youth in this group, while frequently needing the most help, may be the most difficult to assist. Many of them dropped out of school at an early age, are deficient in coping skills, and may have severe personality problems. A prophecy of failure creates attitudes or behavior which increase the likelihood fo further failure, and thus become self-fulfilling. Furthermore, the individual has not had the opportunity to practice job-related skills, and such deficiencies in themselves can lead to failure.

It appears that the best strategy for improving self-confidence is to provide opportunities for success experiences and to help the individual interpret these succeses as worthwhile accomplishments. Earning money, completing a task, contributing to a common goal are all possible ways for an individual to experience success. During the period in which he is developing a sense of accomplishment and a belief that he can contribute to his own satisfaction by performing work, it is almost inevitable that some of the behaviors which have led to previous failures will do so again. It is important, therefore, that he be able to fail without seriously adverse consequences. He needs to be able to start afresh in a new situation on at least several occasions so that he may have a chance to break the vicious cycle of repetitive failures resulting from his conviction that failure is inevitable.

VI

PROGRAM IMPLICATIONS

In the last chapter issues were discussed related to the socialization of youth and easing the transition from school to work. Based on this analysis, some conclusions can be drawn which can serve as guides to planning and administering employment and training programs for youth.

PROGRAM GOALS

One goal of an employment training program should be to develop the capacity of the youth to negotiate the labor market system. This includes the subgoals of helping the youth to:

- Know about the vocational options that are open to them.
- Know their own desires and abilities as related to these options.
- Develop the coping skills needed to perform adequately in the type of work they want and is available to them.
- Acquire needed task skills when such skills are a prerequisite to employment.
- Develop job seeking and job application skills.
- Know how to advance their careers after entry into the labor force.

Another goal is to expand the options available by removing impediments to employment of youth such as unfair discrimination and by providing credible references as to what they are capable of doing.

This statement of goals is in sharp contrast to an oversimplified statement that manpower programs should train clients for jobs which are in demand and then place them in a job with career prospects that makes use of their training. Skill training and placement are important tools of manpower programs but by themselves seldom solve difficult problems. A true romance story ends with the hero and heroine getting married and living happily ever after. The scenario for manpower planning frequently calls for the client to be given job training and then placed in a "meaningful, career" job. Presumably, after he had made this connection, he lives happily ever after: -- but let's look at a few facts:

- For most jobs, employers do not require that applicants be trained in specific job task skills if they have adequate coping skills.[1]
- Only a small proportion of American workers spend an entire work career with one employer or personnel system.
- It has been estimated that the average worker will need to make three changes in jobs which require the learning of new skills during a work career.
- National Longitudinal Survey data indicates that job mobility was very high among youth and that the job changers received greater pay increases, advanced further on the occupational ladder, and were better satisfied with their work.[2]

The concern for "unmeaningful" and "dead end" jobs often causes employment and training programs to avoid placements which might be useful for their clients. The judgment of what work is "meaningful" is highly subjective and there is virtually no limit to the types of activities which will be considered "meaningful" by some people and scorned by others. Any work which has economic value must be valued by someone and should be given respect. In this connection it is most important that the manpower specialist not impose his values on his clients. People vary extensively in what they like to do and the conditions under which they like to work, and their options should not be reduced on the basis of someone else's approval of the work. The concept of the "dead end" job is also highly subjective. If what is meant is that the job is not part of a formal career ladder, many jobs at varied skill levels qualify. Under this definition, the general practitioner in private medical practice is in a "dead end" job because he will probably be doing very much the same thing at the end of his work career as he did in the beginning. If what is meant is that the salary is too low in comparison to the general wage level, many ministers are in "dead end" jobs. If what is meant is that the job does not permit upward mobility into different types of jobs, there is a misunderstanding of the dynamics of the labor market.

Many minority and economically disadvantaged groups in the

---

[1] See page 65 for a discussion of this point.

[2] Career Thresholds, Vol. 4.

United States have started with the lowest level of job and moved up into higher status occupations. A recent example is the Cuban refugees in Miami, many of whom started in "dead end" jobs and in a few years had made significant occupational progress. Manpower programs should help their clients use rather than avoid "dead end" jobs. Youth need to start somewhere to get experience with working and to build their reputations. The expectation that they can always find employment with an organization with promotion opportunities and career ladders is unrealistic. The youth needs the ability to make the best choice among available opportunities at a particular point in time and then be able to make decisions which will advance him either within or outside the organization in which he is employed. The NLS data indicates that job mobility is an important method by which youth improve their job situation.

IMPORTANCE OF REPUTATION

Job task skills are the usual concern of skill training programs and relate to the way in which workers accomplish specific, short-range job tasks. Coping skills, on the other hand, relate to longer range performances. An important aspect of coping skills is their ability to organize an individual's energies and discipline his impulse to accomplish long-range goals. Job task skills are fairly easily measured by tests or simulation of job tasks. Coping skills are much more difficult to measure.

Employers usually place more emphasis on coping skills than specific job skills because a person with good coping skills can be expected to learn the specific skills required for most jobs within a reasonable period of time. The reverse is not true. Employers usually do not have the resources to remediate an individual's coping skills even when he possesses adequate specific job skills.

Since there are usually no direct measures of coping skills, the employer looks for indirect evidence, reputation being one of the most important. Employers will frequently check with someone who has been able to observe the behavior of the applicant over a period of time and attempt to get an appraisal of the applicant's coping skills. Personal contact is an extremely important way of getting a job because the employer has more confidence in the quality of the appraisal of coping skills if he has made the appraisal himself or if he knows the person making the appraisal and has confidence in his judgment.

One of the important things that a new worker is doing during the early part of his career is building up his reputation. Another way of saying this is that he is establishing evidence regarding his coping skills. Before his reputation as a worker has been established, employers must depend on other evidence regarding the quality of the applicant's coping skills. Reputation of parents sometimes serves as a proxy as does successful achievement in education or other activities.

Disadvantaged youth have difficulty not only in developing adequate coping skills but, even when their coping skills are adequate, they also have difficulty establishing a reputation which is creditable to employers. Their parents frequently do not have good reputations, and the employer usually does not know anyone personally in whom he has confidence and who also knows the disadvantaged applicant.

One of the important goals of a manpower program is to provide references for clients who have not yet established a reputation as a good worker but who possess adequate coping skills. It should be noted that in order to provide this service, it is essential that the program establish its own credibility. Employers must have confidence in the quality of the program's judgment of the applicant's coping skill if they are to be expected to give it weight. Some programs have seen themselves as advocates of the client with the responsibility to place as many of them as possible in jobs. When this leads to references based on inadequate information or references accentuating the positive and ignoring the negative, the employer loses confidence, and the ability of the program to help future clients is impaired.

COPING SKILL REMEDIATION

As can be seen from the discussion in the last chapter, coping skills take a long time to develop, are very difficult to change, and are basic to an individual's overall performance in life situations, including his ability to master specific task skills. When an employer says he prefers a "good" person rather than an "already trained" person, what he means is that he wants someone with adequate coping skills.

Multiple Opportunities

Placement assistance and providing references may be sufficient to help some clients become functioning members of the labor force. Other clients will need to improve their coping skills. A particularly difficult aspect of this problem is that people who have grown up in disadvantaged, racist, or ghetto environments frequently have developed adaptive behavioral patterns (for example, an ethic of having a reputation for toughness among one's peers), which may be suitable in their usual environment, but which are essentially non-adaptive in normal work situations. These adaptations may be difficult to change because they have worked well for them in the past. Change is likely to be a slow, difficult process in which the individual needs to learn from his mistakes and to be rewarded for his successes. Training and employment opportunities need to be provided, but it should be recognized that the trainee may not be able to take advantage of these opportunities at any particular time. He may need to make some mistakes before he is motivated to apply himself. Seriously disadvantaged persons often require a number of chances; if a single opportunity were enough, many could succeed without special assistance.

Manpower programs need to walk a narrow line in which the maintenance of standards is combined with multiple opportunities. Many clients need to start over again with a "clean slate" after their performance has earned them a poor reputation in a particular training or work situation and their relationships have deteriorated to the point that their attitudes and record are likely to make it difficult for them to succeed in that setting. The client, however, does not learn anything by the new assignment if he is permitted to use the coping skills he has learned from his past environment to manipulate his present situation so that he is able to achieve his immediate personal goals without meeting the requirements of the job or training program. When the client fails to meet reasonable training or work assignment standards, he should be given a new assignment, if possible, where he can try again with a "clean slate." If he still appears unready to apply himself, he should be placed on "furlough." A "furloughed" trainee should have reenrollment priority when he decides that he is ready to try again.

The use of the concept of "furlough" rather than that of "termination" indicates that withdrawal from the program is not negative or to be stigmatized as failure. Rather, it has constructive implications for the trainee and for the program. The furlough concept puts the responsibility on the trainee to decide to adjust to the manpower training program if he is to return. This gives him an option and allows him to profit from a mistake. Thus, a "failure" on one job becomes part of the growth process through which behavior may be modified.

Developing Success Expectations

Among the most important characteristics of a program determining its effectiveness are its reputation for success, the atmosphere it creates and the availability of success models. Manpower programs have been consistently unsuccessful in generating motivation when none exists. The trick is to nurture motivation when it does occur, and a crucial element in doing this is to develop a program atmosphere and a history of success that will maximize the chances that the motivation of the new entrant will continue. Under these circumstances, competent counseling can be expected to have beneficial impact, even though by itself counseling cannot be expected to generate motivation or to have much effect on the trainee participating in a program with a history of failure.

Program Atmosphere

Youth who are making a poor adjustment to the labor market frequently are highly sensitive to peer group pressures. It is therefore important that behaviors which lead to better work performance be reinforced by the fellow participants in the manpower program. A peer group atmosphere which is indifferent, or in extreme cases, hostile toward academic achievement, will make the achievement of the program goals almost impossible.

The development of an appropriate program atmosphere takes time and a great deal of skill. It is obviously much more difficult to do if the composition of the trainee group consists of rebels who are challenging authority and training goals. In extreme cases, such peer groups may actually punish trainees who are making progress toward employability. One of the mistakes made by manpower programs responding to the war on poverty was to concentrate poorly motivated trainees into one program, with the result that failure rather than success became the norm. What often happens is that values, to some degree become inverted and efforts to learn are frequently seen by the group as undesirable behavior.

A nucleus of enrollees who are motivated to improve their coping skills is probably essential to the success of any program. Discordant trainees can be introduced into such a setting but only in limited numbers. If their number becomes too great, the atmosphere may become so negative that the program cannot operate.

Success Models

Another significant element in program success is the availability of success models. School dropouts, particularly from minority groups, have limited appreciation of the opportunities available to them and frequently have doubts about their ability to take advantage of the ones they do know about. They therefore need to expand their concepts of what is possible for them. When youth see someone like themselves achieving what they, themselves, would like to achieve, they are more likely to believe in the real possibility of their own success. Visible "success models" provide one of the best ways to expand enrollees' ideas of what is possible for them. A program with a history of success thus helps insure continuing success. The trainees entering the program see the example of graduating participants and can conclude that they also have a chance to achieve the same success. Programs with a history of failure, likewise, tend to insure continuing failure by not providing success models.

Success models serve two major purposes in socialization and remediation processes. First, they show through example what is possible for the individual to achieve -- and thus it is important that the individual being assisted come into contact with persons whom he perceives as similar to himself who are making a satisfactory adjustment to the requirement of work. Second, social roles frequently are learned more efficiently by imitation than by trial-and-error. The opportunity to observe first hand effective role performances is, therefore, important to learning.

One feature of the redesigned NYC-2, the restriction of enrollees to 16- and 17-year-old disadvantaged dropouts, may have weighted the odds against achieving employability objectives in that it made it more likely that NYC-2 programs would operate with groups deficient in success models. The training objectives of these programs might have been better served if the enrollee groups had included some older, succeeding youth. The presence of success models, in turn, could have been expected to increase interest in and commitment to training goals.

It has frequently been argued that manpower programs are avoiding their responsibilities unless they concentrate on the clients with the most severe employability problems, the ones who need help the most. This is the familiar "creaming" controversy of the last decade. Research results suggest the paradox that manpower programs may be doing the very clients they want to help a disservice if they follow selection and retention policies which overload the program with poorly-motivated and low-achieving enrollees. The low initial motivation of many disadvantaged youth must be nurtured within the context of a program which has demonstrated a significant number of program successes.

Categories of Need

To be effective, manpower programs should consider the trainee's particular needs and adapt program elements to meet them. Research results indicate three general areas of deficiency -- lack of opportunity, rebellious attitude toward authority, and low self-esteem -- each requiring a different remedial strategy.

The Disadvantaged Graduate. Some members of disadvantaged populations will have acquired reasonably functional coping skills. Their major problem is lack of opportunity. They frequently have a relatively good academic record and are suffering from deficiencies in the educational system rather than from their own failure. Also, they may be weak in job-seeking skills. These individuals are already sufficiently well-motivated and disciplined to profit immediately from formal education and skill training and have not yet established a reputation as a good worker. For such individuals, "hire first, train later" is likely to be an effective strategy. The manpower program can best help them by giving them a chance to show what they can do.

The Rebel. A second area of deficiency results from a poor attitude toward authority and work. Many disadvantaged persons have a suspicious attitude toward persons in authority and have not developed sufficient self-discipline to fit into a working environment. They believe that persons in authority are against them and their needs cannot be met by complying with the needs of authority.

A combination of the maintenance of reasonable standards and the availability of multiple opportunities appears to be the best strategy for dealing with many rebels. It is essential that the rebel be treated with both firmness and consideration. Either excessive leniency or excessive strictness tends to reduce the value of work experience, the former by failing to provide the trainee with objective standards, and the latter by providing standards that are too high or too strictly maintained.

The rebel's coping skills can be improved through actual work experience. The best work assignment is one in which there are real jobs to be done, the work is well-organized, and the trainee's fellow workers are conscientious and efficient. The worst work situation is one in which there is little work to be done, the supervision is lax, and fellow workers have poor work habits. The best supervisor is one who takes an interest in the enrollee, is capable of giving him on-the-job training, maintains a work-oriented atmosphere, and insists that reasonable standards be met.

The rebel also needs to see real life examples of people who have achieved success in socially approved activities and with whom he can identify. Such persons not only provide examples of what is possible, but also, through his association with them, he is able to observe their attitudes and behaviors. Counselors, teachers, and work supervisors can provide such role models. Other possible role models are fellow employees and former trainees who have "made it". Therefore, training classes and work assignments should be organized so that the rebel comes into contact with persons as much like himself as possible who are making a satisfactory adjustment to the requirements of work.

Low Self-Confidence. The third area of deficiency is related to the self-confidence of individuals coming from deprived environments -- the low self-confidence group. Having had unfortunate experiences in the past, persons in this group tend to view the world as hostile and antagonistic, and have doubts about their own capacity to obtain satisfactions from it. While frequently needing the most help, persons low in self-confidence may be the most difficult to assist. The best strategy for improving self-confidence is to provide opportunities for experiencing success and to help the individual interpret these successes as worthwhile accomplishment. The worst strategy is to place him into situations where he is likely to fail.

Earning money, completing a task, contributing to a common goal are all possible ways for an individual to experience success. During the period in which the trainee is developing a sense of accomplishment and a belief that he can contribute to his own satisfaction by performing work, it is almost inevitable that some of the behaviors which have led to previous failures will lead to failure again. It is important, therefore, that he be able to fail without seriously adverse consequences. He needs to be able to start afresh in a new situation on at least several occasions so that he may have a chance to break the vicious cycle of repetitive failures resulting from his conviction that failure is inevitable. The greatest need for the youth in the low self-confidence group is for sheltered work experience with sympathetic supervisors who do not make excessive demands on him. As his self-confidence increases and his performance improves, additional demands should be made until he is able to meet the typical requirements of the work situations for which he is being trained.

PROGRAM COMPONENTS

The CETA legislation authorizes prime sponsors to offer a range of services which include placement and job development, classroom training, work experience, counseling, testing, and supportive services. The contribution that each of these components can make to the employability of youth will be discussed below.

Skill Training

It has been pointed out several times in this report that skill training is no panacea for all the problems of employment and training programs. It is, nevertheless, one of the most useful tools available to CETA administrators. Several research studies have shown that youth who complete vocational courses in school or skill training programs during the post-school period make a much better adjustment to the labor market than other youth.

On the other hand, a study comparing a group given formal training with a matched control group of direct hires who received no training found no significant differences in job performance.[1] After analyzing this and other studies relating to the training of hard-to-employ individuals, the reviewer came to the conclusion that it seems unlikely that training itself affects job retention or performance.[2]

Two factors probably account for the above findings. First, a relatively small number of jobs require specific formal skill training to learn; informal on-the-job training is a perfectly satisfactory way to learn most jobs, and workers learning it this way suffer no disadvantage when compared with workers who have received formal skill training. Second, the major advantage of completing many skill training programs may be that it provides evidence of competence and may help the applicant obtain a job. Such completions are particularly useful for minority youth from poverty backgrounds who have not been able to establish a reputation as a good worker. Completion of a skill training program shows that they have the ability to learn the skill, the determination to stay with the training until it is completed, as well as that they have mastered the job task skill.

---

[1] Quin, R. et al. Turnover and Training: A Social-Psychological Study of Disadvantaged Workers. Unpublished paper, Survey Research Center, Univ of Michigan, 1970.

[2] Goodman, P.S. Hiring, Training and Retaining the Hard-Core Unemployed: A Selected Review. J. of Applied Psychol., 1973, Vol. 58, No. 1, 23-33.

While skill training can frequently be used to establish the credibility of the client as a worker, there are some jobs which are learned best through formal skill training. Two skill training programs using very different training techniques are described below as models which can be used for particular types of situations. The Training and Technology (TAT) program has achieved spectacular success with highly skilled blue collar occupations. The other program, the Cincinnati Clerical Co-op, used an alternative of skill training and work experience as its basic strategy and was an outstanding success during its first four years of operation and then ran into difficulty because of a change in program guidelines. The reasons it achieved initial success and then failed are discussed below.

Training and Technology (TAT)

This innovative program was initiated in 1966 as a demonstration manpower development project undertaking all the functions required to prepare individuals for gaining and holding skilled employment: recruitment; selection; skill, technical and trade-related instruction; accompanying supportive services; job placement and follow-up of graduates and employers for feedback that will help improve the program.[1]

The job skills taught are those either generally in strong demand in modern, technology-based industry or specifically required by employers hiring TAT graduates. Specific areas in which training has been given are: machinery, combination welding, mechanical operations (various production operations in sheet metal, pipe fitting, hydraulic mechanics, etc.), physical testing (radiography, metallography, and various other nondestructive testing methods), electronics, and industrial electricity. Occupational offerings have varied somewhat, depending on indications of changing employer demand. Placement in training is limited to those capable of attaining advanced job skills in six months or less (sixth grade level functional math skills is a lower limit).

The training operation of the TAT program included:

- Recruitment, should get enough candidates from the target population to fill the program to capacity and keep it filled.

- Selection, should get the best qualified candidates. The training staff is committed to the successful graduation of the trainee by involving them in the selection process and accepting only trainees approved by the training staff.

---

[1] The program is described in *A Model for Training the Disadvantaged: TAT at Oak Ridge, Tenn.* (Manpower Research Monograph No. 29, U.S. Dept. of Labor, 1973).

- *The training facility* was a typical industrial setting with the atmosphere of a production organization. Trainees were subject to the same rules as regular employees.

- *Technical instructors* reflected current industrial practices since they were seasoned craftsmen borrowed from industry and rotated periodically.

- *The curriculum* reflected, as closely as possible, the skills necessary in the jobs in which the trainees were to be placed.

- *Supportive services* were intended to remove the barriers to successful completion of the training. Transportation and housing difficulties were the most common and considered the most "treatable" problems of trainees. More enduring problems, such as family relationships and drugs, were believed better referred to outside service agencies than treated in the industrial environment.

- *Job seeking and application skills* are important in gaining industrial employment. Teaching them also demonstrates to the trainee that the program is not an academic exercise, but exists to produce an end result -- a job.

- *Job placement* for graduates of the program is understood by everyone as the objective of all activities.

The fact that TAT training is in those occupations -- for which starting wages were relatively high -- goes far toward accounting for TAT's unusual "success rate." Over 90% of the more than 2000 TAT graduates (from September 1967 through March 1973) were placed in industrial jobs at an average wage of $3 an hour. Graduates in 1972 started work at an average $3.29 per hour. TAT's dropout rate, moreover, has been low; over 6 years ending in 1972 it averaged 18%. The unemployment rates for graduates was 9% in 1972, low for a group of young workers a majority of whom were unemployed before training.

The TAT model has worked exceptionally well for the type of youth it services. It was funded for about 10 years with Department of Labor money, and has now converted entirely to local funding. It should be noted, however, that it concentrates on that limited range of jobs requiring extensive technical training and it uses selection techniques to assure highly motivated trainees. The trainees must be prepared to relocate since a significant portion of the placements are made outside the Knoxville or Oak Ridge areas. Since the jobs require substantial training, they also pay very well compared to other jobs that might be available to the youth. If the TAT model were greatly expanded, it might soon saturate the market and have difficulty with future placements. The TAT program is a great opportunity for disadvantaged youth with good coping skills (the disadvantaged graduate). The poorly motivated youth with inadequate coping skills would not survive the selection process, or, if they did, most of them would be unable to complete the six months of training.

The Cincinnati Clerical Co-op

The distinctive feature of the Cincinnati Clerical Co-op programs was that it alternated periods of classroom work with periods of work experience in firms that were potential employers of the trainees. It was designed to improve the clerical skills, work habits, and job-seeking activities of qualified trainees to the point of permanent employment in the clerical field.[1] The trainees were young, predominantly black females who qualified under poverty guidelines and were mostly school dropouts.

Participation in the Co-op was limited to Neighborhood Youth Corps enrollees who had completed at least tenth grade, who possessed at least minimal clerical skills, and who had expressed an interest in clerical work as a permanent vocation. In addition, Co-op participation was restricted to individuals whose potential for success in the clerical field was judged to be at least average -- whose evaluation tests indicated ability to handle basic mathematics and reading. On the average, trainees scored a little above eighth grade in reading tests and seventh grade in math tests.

The Co-op program alternated four weeks of classroom work at an Education Center with four weeks of work experience. At the end of each work experience cycle, the trainees' supervisor provided performance evaluations and indicated skill and behavioral areas in which improvement was desirable. These supervisory reports guided the emphasis of the ensuing four-week period of classroom work. Following a second period of classroom work, the trainee went on a second work assignment. The program provided for repeated cycles of classroom and work experience until the trainee qualified for and achieved permanent placement. Work experience was obtained primarily in the business sector with cooperating firms paying the trainees according to their own pay schedules for a regular work week.

Some participants were able to qualify for employment solely through their work at the Education Center (about 15%). Others did well on their assignments and were hired from their first work experience site (33%). Only 6% required five assignments or more.

---

[1] This program is described in Walther, R.H. and Magnusson, No. 2. The Cincinnati Clerical Co-op: A Formal Skill Training Program, 1969, NTIS PB 187 934.

During the first four years of operation the Co-op achieved substantial success in preparing its trainees for clerical jobs and the labor market performance of its graduates was significantly better than a control group composed of enrollees in other parts of the Cincinnati Neighborhood Youth Corps program. A number of instances were documented of trainees with a poor attitude and work performance in the first work assignment who improved during subsequent assignments and eventually was given a good rating by their post-training employer.

The performance of the program, however, decreased after new NYC guidelines were issued in 1970 requiring that NYC programs concentrate on 16 and 17 year old youth. Selection standards for admitting trainees into the Co-op were relaxed and the classroom atmosphere deteriorated and credibility with employers was reduced because of the lower quality of trainees being sent out on assignments.

The original design of the Co-op proved to be sound and it can serve as a model for other youth programs and other occupational areas. The essential elements of such a model skill training program are:

1. Selection of job categories for which there are ample employment opportunities and training at a basic level of competence can be accomplished within six months alternating classroom work and work experience.

2. Careful selection of trainees to ensure that the program does not get overloaded with poorly motivated trainees with poor work habits. It is desirable to have general work experience assignments available in which applicants can demonstrate before they are assigned to the Co-op program their motivation to try to improve their employability.

3. Initial training at a Training Center.

4. On-the-job training preferably at a work site that provides opportunities for permanent employment.

5. Reassignment to the Training Center, concentrating on work deficiencies reported by supervisors during last work assignment.

6. Provision for remedial education as required.

7. Continuation of the cycle of work experience and formal training until the trainee has been judged ready for employment. The trainee should be reassigned to a new work site whenever this

appears to be necessary to give him a wider range of experience or to give him a "clean slate" where he can start anew.

8. Assistance in obtaining a job after training has been completed.

9. Follow-up counseling until the trainee has made an adequate adjustment to a job.

While the TAT and Co-op programs differed substantially in their clients and training techniques, there were a number of common elements which probably contributed to the success of each program. They were both vocationally relevant in that the trainees expected to get jobs if they completed the training. They attempted to select trainees who had a demonstrated motivation and ability to complete the training. When the Co-op was forced to depart from this principle, its effectiveness decreased. Both found a business atmosphere helpful in developing good work habits. The Co-op started with regular NYC work sites and shifted over to the business sector. Experience showed that work experience with cooperating private businesses was more desirable because business firms were more likely to maintain a work-oriented atmosphere, insist that reasonable standards be met, and to place the trainees in a job at the conclusion of the training period if their work was found to be satisfactory. Both programs also placed great emphasis on job development and placement at the end of training.

Remedial Education

A high proportion of the unemployed youth from disadvantaged backgrounds, including many high school graduates, are so deficient in reading and arithmetic skills as to severely limit their employability. Thus work-training programs, although valuable for providing references and for training individuals in work habits and job skills, need to be supplemented by a remedial education program in order to reduce deficiencies in basic education and to enable the trainees to handle a responsible job.

In order to improve the effectiveness of remedial education, CETA sponsors have two alternatives: (1) the stimulation of local school systems to the end that they will provide an effective resource; or (2) the development of CETA educational resources. The effectiveness of education provided by local school systems may tend to be reduced because of underlying attitudes based on past experience: many schools have, in effect, rejected the school dropouts (encouraging them to leave and making it difficult for them to return), and many dropouts have rejected schools. Both of these attitudes may need to be modified before effective remedial education can be achieved. The critical nature of trainees' unmet needs for effective remedial education led to a large number of remedial education components of manpower programs. Some were run in cooperation with school systems but many were not.[1]

[1] A description of these programs is contained in *Basic Education*

Well organized programs with services provided by competent teachers can improve the academic performance of motivated youth. Research results indicate that student motivation is the most important variable determining academic progress. A significant portion of the hard-to-employ youth, however, are extremely difficult to motivate and, as has been found in other aspects of youth manpower programs, motivation cannot be forced. It has seldom been possible to motivate trainees by requiring them to attend remedial education classes in order to participate in other components of the training or work experience program, even if they are paid for their time. What almost always happens is that the trainees with low motivation either drop out of the total program or passively participate in the remedial education program, attending as little as possible and learning very little. Participation in educational programs, therefore, should not be made an inflexible condition for remaining in the work/training programs.

Many hard-to-employ youth, particularly males, have negative attitudes toward school and schooling. Part of the negativism is associated with the youth's low estimate of their own ability to do school work and with low thresholds of frustration and boredom, and short attention spans. Educational material should be neither so difficult as to frustrate nor so easy as to deny a sense of achievement, but should be just difficult enough to provide a challenge.

Youth with low academic motivations should be encouraged to participate in the educational program by making them as job-relevant as possible. If the youth see an immediate use for what they are learning, their motivation to learn can be expected to increase. The effectiveness of remedial education programs, therefore, is influenced significantly by the vocational relevance of the total training program.

The competence of the teacher is a variable almost as important as student motivation in determining program effectiveness. Effective teachers are not necessarily credentialed or even college graduates. Formal qualifications have been found to be less important than the personal characteristics that the teacher brings to the

---

in Manpower Programs: The R & D Experience, Research Monograph No. 38, 1975. U.S. Dept. of Labor. Other sources of information are: U.S. Civil Service Commission, *A Catalog of Basic Education Systems*, Washington, D.C. Gov't. Printing Office, 1971; Walther, R.H. *An Educational Model for Manpower Programs: A Manual of Recommended Practices* available from NITS PB 250 501; Enright, W.J. and Graham, G.S., *The Development of a Comprehensive Basic Education System for Alternative Education Programs*, available from NTIS, SEPY, D.; *The Individualized Manpower Training System* available from NITS; Cayton, P.W. and Brewer, N.B. *Individualized Reading Instructional System*, available from NTIS PB 236 431.

job. Previous experience in teaching and possession of recognized credentials can, however, be useful in some circumstances. The greatest weight should be given to personal qualities; but, in choosing between candidates with equal personal qualifications, consideration should be given to previous teaching experience and training, particularly relating to adult basic education.

The teacher must be able to communicate that he likes and understands the student while, at the same time, keeping class activities focused on academic progress. He must believe in the goals of the program and feel that the particular teaching methods being employed can work. Successful teachers are creative people with interests and hobbies that can stimulate students to sample new areas and broaden their horizons. Often new-found interests will lead students to a more positive approach to the academic side of education.

All teaching jobs require energy, but this one may require even more than usual. It is important to choose a person who can put in the required hours in the classroom and still have the energy to deal with the students during non-class hours.

The teacher also provides an important role model with respect to language usage and adult role behavior. His use of language should be competent and show that such characteristics as promptness and dependability in the classroom, ability to relate well with other people, and the ability to work within the system are all behavior examples which will help the students to cope with the outside world.

In some circumstances ethnic background, appearance, and sex may be factors to be considered. Experience indicates that they become of little importance if enough consideration is given to the other factors discussed above.

While motivation of the students and the competence of the teacher have the most impact on program effectiveness, the design of the program is also important in that an effective design makes it easier for the student to learn and the teacher to teach. Some of the principles which are suggested by the research are:

- Open entry/open exit. Students, although they may be approximately the same age, may be expected to have a wide range of academic deficiencies, from functional illiteracy to near readiness for high school graduation. The educational programs have maximum flexibility by being able to include within the same class students working at several different levels of achievement who can enter or leave the program on individual, rather than class or academic schedules.

- Modular units. Each lesson should be a self-contained component which can be completed within a relatively short period of time, varying from 20 minutes for beginning units to several hours for advanced. Lessons should include instructional materials and self-administered tests on the material, which provides students with immediate feedback on their performance.

- Diagnostic/Prescriptive. Diagnostic tests should be used to place the student at the right learning level. The student should skip over areas of demonstrated competence and begin work where needed without wasting time.

- Builds on Success. Correct placement assures the student of initial success. The student should progress by small steps through lessons which are challenging but not frustrating and in which success can be experienced each step of the way.

- Sense of Progress. Far more than high-achieving students, low-achieving students need to feel that they are making progress toward a goal they view as important. They need constant reassurance that they are moving ahead on the right track; and they value reports of progress more highly than do students who have had more experience of academic success.

- Insistence on Mastery.. Mastery of an instructional unit, demonstrated by successful test performance, should be required to advance to the next level of learning. If the test indicates that mastery has not been achieved, the student should work through another set of lessons at the same level and should then be retested.

- Self-paced. The students should control the pace of their own learning: they should select the lesson materials to appeal to a wide variety of student interests and purposes.

- Alternate Paths. Not all students learn in the same way. When students are not learning through the core curriculum, alternate teaching strategies and materials should be used.

- Classroom Atmosphere. It is essential that an esprit de corps be developed in the classroom: that classroom activities occur in an atmosphere that reinforces academic achievement.

- Initial Contact. It is essential that maximum use be made of whatever motivation the student brings to the classroom. With careless or inexpert handling, initial motivation can quickly dissipate and thereby greatly increase the difficulty of helping the student to make progress in the program.

- Errors as Feedback. Students need constant feedback on their performance: feedback on achievement reinforces motivation; and feedback on error is the principle means of improving achievement. Yet underachieving students are often hypersensitive to making mistakes because of their previous academic failures. It is essential that the students learn to accept their incorrect answers, not as failures, but as valuable knowledge that will enable them to achieve higher skill levels.

- Individualized Learning in a Group Context. The instruction of underachieving students must be individualized. Many of these students however, tend to work poorly by themselves. They need social contact with other students. The teacher must be able to use a variety of techniques to provide needed social interaction among students.

- Goal Setting. Learning occurs best when reasonable goals are set by the student. The teacher must know how to help students set goals so that each lesson is assigned in relation to some purpose recognized and endorsed by the student.

- Discipline. A learning environment can be maintained only if the right of the students to spend their time productively is protected through the control of disruptive behavior in the classroom. Teachers who do not maintain essential discipline not only fail their students but lose respect and credibility. On the other hand, teachers who prohibit behavior which does not detract from goals only hinder program effectiveness.

Work Experience

Work experience as used here includes assignment of clients to any job in which the assignment is under the control of the manpower program, is understood in advance to be of limited duration, and the primary purpose of the assignemnt is to give the client experience with work rather than income maintenance or to get work done. [1]Usually part or all of the cost of wages is borne by the program.[1]

---

[1] A detailed series of recommendations on how work experience

Program Objectives

Work experience assignments should have three purposes: they should be used to improve the client's coping skills, to provide experience with different types of work to help the client decide on the type of work he wants to do, and to help the client establish a reputation as a good worker, thus being a source of references.

Research has shown that work experience by itself has no appreciable effect on the employability of enrollees. It was only when the work experience was directly relevant to a post-program job that positive effects were noted.

The most effective work assignment is one in which employment opportunities are available at the work site, after the enrollee has shown he is able to perform the work. Good results can still be achieved, however, if the work assignment trains the enrollee for work for which there is a ready market; on the other hand, poor results are likely to follow work assignments to a type of work such as community action aide for which there is not a ready market--perhaps such assignments do not permit the enrollee to establish a record of work performance which is valued by potential employers.

The character of supervision in the work site may be as important as the type of work assignment. The work supervisor who shows an interest in the enrollee is likely to achieve the best results. The personal interest, however, must be combined with on-the-job training, maintaining a work-oriented atmosphere, and an insistance that reasonable standards be met. The best work assignment is one in which the work is well organized and the fellow workers of the enrollee are conscientious and work efficiently. The worst work situation is one in which the supervision is lax and the fellow workers have poor work habits. For this reason, better results are often obtained in private industry assignments than in assignments in non-profit agencies, which often are not well managed.

Quality of participation in work experience programs was found to be more important than length of time in the program. For those enrollees who were given good ratings on their performance in skill training, education or work experience activities, there was a small but positive correlation between length of time in the program and post-program employment outcomes. On the other hand, enrollees whose participation quality was low, there was a significant negative correlation between length of time in the program and employment outcomes.[1]

---

might be used by CETA prime sponsors is contained in Pine, M.W. and Morlock, J.M. Work Experience Perspectives, 1976, Unpublished paper, City of Baltimore, Md.

---

[1] Walther, R.H. and Magnusson, M.L. A Longitudinal Study of Selected Out-of-School NYC-2 Programs in Four Cities, 1975. Available from NTIS PB 256 832.

It was concluded that length of time in the program, unless accompanied by achievement, is no help in preparing the youth for employment. Indeed, time in the program without some evidence of effort seemed to be negatively associated with employment outcomes. Youth who need to improve their employability but who stayed in the program solely to get their stipends and who made little or no effort to improve their work skills were probably reflected in this negative correlation.

Some supervisors and counselors, feeling great sympathy for their youthful clients, mistakenly overlook poor work performance. They hope that continued contact with the youth, with the opportunity to provide continued support and counsel, will bring about spontaneous enrollee improvement. The research evidence reported above indicates that sympathy and understanding by themselves are rarely effective and that the best results are achieved when reasonable standards are maintained.

Another mistake is to establish too high an expectation on the part of the youth by paying more for the work experience job than the youth will be able to get in the unsubsidized labor market or by leading the youth to think that he is acquiring more advanced training than he really is. Unrealistic expectations lead to dissatisfaction when the youth finds that he does not qualify for the job he wants or that the job does not pay the wages he thought it would. Level of wages is probably not a decisive factor influencing the success of either skill training or work experience programs. As one example, the O.I.C. in Philadelphia achieved good success with no payments to the trainees.

Follow-up data contains many examples of youth who had been terminated because of poor attendance, attitude, or performance on a single assignment, yet they rated the work experience program highly. Many of these youth had been unemployed continuously and, perhaps, they were nostalgic for the work experience paychecks. In view of their post-program attitudes, however, it is possible that they would perform better in a second enrollment. This possibility is supported by the fact that some enrollees took as many as four separate enrollments before achieving successful adjustment to the work experience program.

The above considerations suggest that, once having been enrolled, a youth should be considered a responsibility of the program until it has been established that he can hold down a full-time job or until the program administrator determines that the program can provide no further assistance to him. Such a policy should be combined with the requirement than an enrollee be permitted to continue in a work assignment only as long as he meets reasonable standards of performance for that job. When he fails to meet these standards, he should be placed on furlough until he decides he is ready to return and to comply with the standards. When he has made this decision, he should be given a new work assignment as soon as possible if he appears sincere in his decision to try to meet work standards.

A frequently advocated enrollment policy assigns priority to youth with the greatest employability problems. These "hard core" youth, it is argued, have the greatest need for employability assistance and should be helped before youth with less severe employability problems are enrolled. Research evidence indicates that such a policy generally tends to decrease program effectiveness, including program effectiveness for "hard core" youth.

A work experience program is most effective, as might be expected, with disadvantaged youth who are relatively close to employability -- the top layer of the program's client population. These youth can be given realistic assistance, and program concentration on them can be expected to provide the most remediation at the least cost. Program successes achieved in this way, furthermore, develop a reputation of effectiveness that serves to increase the motivation of future enrollees. Achieved employment effectiveness of a work experience program increases its potential effectiveness for all enrollees, including the "hard core" youth.

The successes in the work experience programs have been achieved primarily with the enrollees who have already shown that they are able to regulate themselves to some degree. Success is associated with school grade completed and with age, both of which can be considered measures of maturity. On the other hand, very little success has been achieved, except in isolated cases, with the individual who is severely maladjusted. Working on the group which can be given immediate assistance has the direct advantage of having greatest impact on the employability of disadvantaged youth at the least cost. It also has the indirect advantage of demonstrating that results can be achieved and that the program can be helpful to the enrollees. One of the reasons that disadvantaged groups have low motivation is that they see little hope for themselves, and a program which concentrates on the "hard core" will have little apparent effect and thus will not materially change the enrollee's perception of what is possible for him. A program, on the other hand, which also includes the almost employable can show significant results which will be apparent to the next layer of unemployed youth and will serve as a practical demonstration to them that it is possible for persons like themselves to obtain interesting and meaningful jobs.

Supported Work

A promising strategy which might work better for hard-to-employ youth than work experience in already established jobs is supported work.[1] The basic feature of the supported work concept is controlled, low stress work environment for individuals who are not ready to enter the competitive labor market. Clients remain in the program up to 18 months and are then transitioned into non-subsidized jobs in both the public and private sector.

---

[1] This concept was developed initially by the Vera Institute of Justice from European experience through Wildcat Service, Inc. to provide services to former offenders and ex-addicts. It is currently being tried in 13 demonstration projects being monitored by the Manpower Development Research Corp., Three Park Ave., New York., N.Y. 10016.

Small work crews of four or five workers, directed by a foreman who often comes from the same background as his workers, engage in a variety of work projects that can range from minor renovation and rehabilitation to microfilming and furniture refinishing and repair. Efforts are made to select work projects which do not compete with the regular economy yet need to be done. Payment for the work completed helps to fund the program.

Supervisors, the key persons for success or failure in most projects, try to handle the workers with great flexibility, finding the reasons for absenteeism and lateness and suggesting ways to improve and help with the problem. Management does not expect the workers to be too efficient at first and initially takes a sympathetic attitude toward absences and tardiness. It is expected that the workers will gradually learn normal work habits and skills, build self-confidence and move on to a regular job and hold it.

Extensive use is made of reinforcements for good job behavior. In one program wages start at about 75% of what a worker might expect to get from entry level private jobs, but raises and promotions for staying with the project and assuming responsibilities come frequently and workers can earn a small additional bonus any week they meet certain standards of productivity, attendance, and productivity -- standards that are made more difficult as the worker remains on the project.

The supported-work concept is now being used with hard-to-employ youth, but it is still too early to make a judgment on how effective it is in helping to solve the labor market problem of these youth. The 13 demonstration projects are being carefully researched and better answers will be available when the research results are available. In the meantime this approach appears to offer the best prospect of success for hard-to-employ youth. The dangers of overloading the program with too many failure prone youth is still present, but since the supervisor is an employee of the program, more effective action can be taken to build a peer group atmosphere supporting work achievement.

COUNSELING

It has seemed obvious that any group with as many manifest problems as hard-to-employ youth could benefit from good couseling. During the past 15 years many approaches to counseling have been tried and there is now sufficient data available to make an assessment of the effectiveness of counseling in helping to achieve program objectives. This appraisal obviously has to be based on the type and quality of the counseling provided to manpower programs. It is also possible that a new approach or higher level of competence in applying existing approaches might achieve better results but this report obviously has to be limited to the current "state of the art" and present levels of competence.

The available evidence with respect to the effectiveness of counseling is discouraging. No studies were located which have demonstrated a positive relationship between amount or type of counseling and the achievement of program goals. A number of successful programs, on the other hand, have deemphasized counseling after gaining experience with the relative contribution of various program components. The TAT program in Oak Ridge, Tenn., which provides highly technical skill training, and the Wildcat Program in New York City, which provides supported work to ex-offenders and ex-drug addicts, abolished separate counseling units and limited counseling to activities specifically related to the job. In the Longitudinal Study of NYC-2 Programs, a negative association was found between hours of counseling and employment outcomes. Although it seems reasonable to attribute the negative correlation to counselors spending more time with the troubled participants, the study certainly provides no evidence of the beneficial effects of counseling.

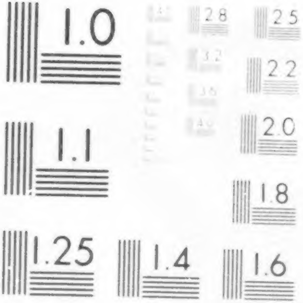
Counseling Strategies

Three approaches to counseling have been tried in a number of programs with minimal success -- insight counseling, personal problem counseling, and contingency management. A brief rationale for each of these methods and possible reasons why they did not work well for clients of manpower programs are discussed below. Guidelines for counseling programs are then proposed.

Insight Counseling

The goals of this counseling technique are to increase the understanding that the individual has of himself and to correct distorted perceptions of the world, and in particular, the perceptions the individual has of himself. The focus is on all aspects of the personality, and usually little attention is paid to specific work problems because it is felt that more basic issues interfering with functioning should be tackled first. The primary technique used is personal and verbal interaction between the counselor and clients.

A persuasive theoretical case can be made for the need to increase the accuracy of the perceptions of youth, but, unfortunately, this type of counseling, when it is used as the primary counseling strategy has not proved to be beneficial to hard-to-employ youth. This conclusion is based on the present "state of the art" and the counseling skill level available to manpower programs. The correction of perceptual distortion should be a continuing goal of counseling programs, but should be focused primarily on perceptual distortions related to labor market activities. Efforts to accomplish more have not been successful and are probably beyond the current reach of manpower programs.


1.0
2.8
2.5
3.2
2.2
3.6
2.0
4.0
1.1
1.8
1.25
1.4
1.6

MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART

NATIONAL [illegible]

Personal Problems Counseling

Youth clients of manpower programs have a wide range of serious problems which may be interfering with their ability to function in various aspects of their lives. It seems reasonable to conclude that these unsolved problems are limiting the quality of their participation in education and training programs by diverting time and energy from their vocational pursuits. While this may be true, counseling activities within manpower programs have achieved very little success in solving problems not directly related to work. It thus seems best to focus counseling in manpower programs on problems which might keep the youth away from the job or training classes, such as transportation, child care and the like. Other problems are frequently beyond the ability or resources of the counselors to solve and should be turned over to other agencies which specialize in the particular type of problem.

Contingency Management

Contingency management is the purposeful application of reinforcement principles to achieve desired behaviors. Contingency management involves the manipulation of the learning environment so that desired behavior is fostered.

During the past few years, contingency management has been introduced into a number of programs and spectacular successes have been reported during the first few months of the application. These programs typically used money, or tokens, or free time as incentives. The youth earned points on the basis of their behavioral achievements and these points were converted to tokens. The tokens could be converted into free time, prizes of various sorts, or perhaps money.

Investigation of these programs several years after they had reported initial success showed in each case that the program had failed to maintain its initial progress and had been discontinued. They apparently broke down because they became too difficult to administer and the incentive value of the reinforcement tended to diminish.

Two things seemed to happen. First, trainees soon tried to beat the system and to gain points without earning them. To the degree that the efforts to beat the system were successful, other trainees became very concerned about the fairness with which the points were issued, resulting in a great increase in the record keeping requirements.

The vigilance of the staff had to be increased to prevent cheating and the time spent on complaints also increased. At the present stage of development, programs based on tokens, money, or other tangible rewards are probably not worth the effort and, in balance, do not achieve good results.

Contingency management principles, however, can be used very effectively in planning particular employability programs for trainees. The notion that a training and employment program should start at the point where the trainee can achieve success and then move by small reinforced sequential steps to a skilled performance is a powerful idea. Counselors who are trained in behavioral modification techniques have effective tools for increasing the motivation of trainees and for guiding their performance. To apply them, however, it is generally necessary to develop individual prescriptions for each student rather than to have general practices which can be applied to all trainees in the same way.

Recommended Counseling Practices

Counselors have their biggest impact when concentrating on vocational objectives. The major emphasis in counseling, thus, should be placed on activities specifically related to work. The goals of counseling should be:

- Vocational Information. There is research evidence that youth making a good labor market adjustment tend to have more vocational information. Providing the youth with information about the vocational options available is an important goal of counseling. This includes information about specific occupations and education or training resources which could help prepare them for the occupation.

- Vocational Exploration. Individuals vary in their abilities, interests, and values. The youth need to test themselves against the requirements and satisfaction potentials of the occupations they may wish to consider. To do this they need to know both about themselves and about potential jobs and relate one to the other. This can be done through reading, conversation, visits to job sites, or through job experience.

- Job Seeking Skills. Many youth are not aware of all the sources of information about job vacancies and all the techniques which can be used to locate jobs. Helping them develop or improve their job seeking skills can make a significant contribution to improving their employability.

- Job Application Skills. Helping the youth develop or improve their job application skills includes giving them practice in taking tests, preparing resumes, and conducting job interviews. This type of counseling can often be done most effectively in a group setting.

- Better Understanding of Own Behavior. The youth can often be helped by increasing their understanding of the effects that particular behaviors have on job performance and supervisory ratings.

- Career Advancement Skills. Skills in advancing their careers after they enter the labor force can be very helpful in the long run. The youth needs to understand the importance of reputation as a worker and how reputations become established. They also need to think of each job as a preparation for the next and how to avoid being trapped in a dead-end situation.

- Helping Youth Resolve Work Problems. During the course of a training program problems will inevitably arise, such as conflicts with supervisors, fellow workers, or other individuals in the work situation. Assistance in resolving these problems both permits the training to continue and can help in the personal development of the youth.

- Helping Improve Job Performance. The youth need to be aware of areas in which their job performance is below standard and ways in which they can improve performance.

- Constructive Use of Assignments. The assignments should be part of a developmental employability plan. Counselors can be very helpful to the youth by recommending assignments to a job or activities which will provide them with needed learning experience at a level of difficulty appropriate to their stage of development and at a time when they are ready to learn from their experience.

Counseling should be conducted both on a one-to-one and a group basis, and the vocational focus of the counseling activities should be maintained when either method is used.

Individual counseling is useful for discussion of highly sensitive topics and for in-depth analysis of problems. Group counseling both conserves the counselor's time and provides for useful group interaction. Specific goals should be set for each individual or group counseling session. Unstructured, sensitivity training types of sessions appear to have no measurable impact on the youth.[1]

---

[1] For a discussion of counseling philosophy and techniques in youth manpower programs see Danne, C. et al. Developing Group Counseling Models for the Neighborhood Youth Corps. 1969. Report submitted to the Manpower Admin., U.S. Dept. of Labor; Bertcher, H. et al. Role Modeling and Role Playing in Employability Development, 1972, Manpower Science Services., Inc. U.S. Gov't. Printing Office;

JOB DEVELOPMENT AND PLACEMENT

Job development and placement should be a highly visible, priority element of a training and employment program. Acceptable jobs for all program participants should be understood by all staff members to be the objective of all activities.

Effective job development involves locating job opportunities and working with employers to expand available opportunities. Job developers should serve as employment brokers between enrollees and employers. On the one hand, they must represent the interests of enrollees by directing the enrollees toward available opportunities, expanding the opportunities as much as possible, and helping the enrollees to maximize their chances of having their employment applications accepted. On the other hand, the job developer needs to represent the interests of employers by keeping the risk of failure within reasonable limits through the referral of candidates who have a reasonable prospect of achieving success on the job.

When servicing disadvantaged youth, some risks have to be taken. The criteria of success should be the number of youth placed successfully into jobs, and the eventual adjustment of the youth to the labor market is more important than the job failures which may occur while the youth is learning to make this adjustment.

A danger to be avoided is losing credibility with employers. When poorly qualified candidates are sent, the employer may stop using the program for recruitment. The employer should always be aware of the degree of risk he is taking in any individual case and should understand the long-range reason for taking the risk. One possible way to reduce the risk is to provide for follow-up counseling after placement.

ASSESSMENT

Assessments can be used for three quite different purposes: (a) as part of the decision making process for determining who gets admitted to a particular training program or work assignment, or gets referred to a particular job; (b) as part of the vocational exploration process to get a better understanding of the youth's abilities, interests, and values; and (c) as part of an evaluation of program effectiveness. The specific uses of assessment instruments are beyond the scope of this report,[1] but certain principle

---

Fuller, E. et al. A Competency Based Training Program for Manpower Counselors, 1973, Northwest Regional Education Laboratory, Portland, Oregon.

[1] For a discussion of assessment instruments see Methods of Assessing the Disadvantaged in Manpower Programs: A Review and Analysis, 1973, Research and Development Report No. 14, U.S. Dept. of Labor.

are suggested by recent experience and are outlined below.

- Test results should not be permitted to limit unnecessarily the options available to the youth. Many tests are reasonably good measures of the threshold ability to perform a particular task, but scores beyond this threshold have little capacity to predict work or training performance. In such instances the test scores should not be used beyond the level for which validity can be established.
- Tests can be used very profitably to increase understanding about how the characteristics of the individual relate to the requirements and satisfaction potential of available jobs and the problems which may be created by low test scores. In some situations, it is useful to give the youth practice in test taking so that they can improve their score and avoid unfair discrimination based on their lack of experience with the particular type of test.
- Tests can be used effectively for evaluating program effectiveness. Standardized reading tests as a measure of the effectiveness of remedial education programs is an obvious example. Tests can also provide useful measures of attitude change when this is the goal of the program.

COORDINATION OF PROGRAM COMPONENTS

Maximum effectiveness of program operations is achieved through the flexible coordination of program components. There is an interaction effect among program components which makes it essential that the time be distributed among all essential program elements and not concentrated on favored components. For example, effective job development increases the value of counseling by providing an attainable goal. Effective counseling increases the value of job development by improving the attitudes of trainees and, thus, making it more likely that trainees will be able to perform well on the job. Effective job development and counseling will increase the effectiveness of remedial education by raising trainees' motivation and making it more likely that they will try to learn; and effective remedial education will increase the job qualifications of the trainees. The manpower program administrator needs to use a system approach to the planning of his program and needs to pay close attention to the necessity for balance among the various program components.

The effectiveness of training and employment programs can also be enhanced, particularly for disadvantaged youth, through follow-up counseling. Graduates of manpower programs often remain deficient in certain skills, attitudes, and knowledge of the requirements of the working world. Even though at termination from the program such trainees may have been placed in "permanent" employment, they often can be found in the ranks of the unemployed a few months later. Many may be helped to a satisfactory work adjustment if they receive advice and support during the difficult first months after leaving the manpower program. If they fail to achieve satisfactory employment, the counselor can help as an "opportunity broker" by enrolling them in training programs, helping them find satisfactory employment, or enrolling them in a work experience or residential service program.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Allerhand, M.E., et al. A Study of the Impact and Effectiveness of the Comprehensive Manpower Project of Cleveland (AIM-JOBS). Report submitted to the Office of Policy, Evaluation and Research, U.S. Dept. of Labor. Contract No. 41-7-002-37, Dec. 1969.

Bachman, J.G. Youth in Transition Vol. II, The Impact of Family Background and Intelligence on Tenth-Grade Boys. Ann Arbor: Institute for Social Research, Univ. of Michigan, 1970.

Bachman, J.G., Green, S. & Wirtanen, I.D. Youth in Transition, Vol. III, Dropping out -- Problem or Symptom? Ann Arbor: Institute for Social Research, Univ. of Michigan, 1971.

Baron, R.M. & Bass, A.R. The Role of Social Reinforcement Parameters in Improving Trainee Task Performance and Self-Image. Report submitted to Office of Manpower Administration, U.S. Dept. of Labor, Sept. 1969.

Bertcher, et al. Role Modeling and Role Playing in Employability Development Agencies. 1972, Manpower Science Services, Inc.

Borus, M.E., Brennan, J.P. & Rosen, S. "A Benefit-Cost Analysis of the Neighborhood Youth Corps: The Out-of-School Program in Indiana." J. of Human Resources, Spring 1970, 139-159.

Bullock, P. Aspiration Vs. Opportunity: "Careers" in the Inner City. Ann Arbor: Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations, Univ. of Michigan and Wayne State Univ., 1973.

Caplan, N. Competency Among Hard to Employ Youth. Report submitted to the Manpower Administration, U.S. Dept. of Labor, contract No. 82-24-68-41-1, June, 1973.

Daane, C. et al. Developing Group Counseling Models for the Neighborhood Youth Corps, 1969. Arizona State Univ. Report submitted to the Manpower Admin., U.S. Dept. of Labor.

Diamond, D. & Bedrosian, H. Industry Hiring Requirements and Employment of Disadvantaged Groups. New York University School of Commerce, 1970.

Doeringer, P.B. (ed.) Programs to Employ the Disadvantaged. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1969.

Doeringer, P. & Piore, M. Internal Labor Markets and Manpower Analysis. Mass.: Heath Lexington, 1971.

Freeberg, N.F. *Development of Assessment Measures for Use with Youth Work Training Program Enrollees, Phase II. Longitudinal Validation*. Princeton: Education Testing Service, 1974.

Freeman, R.B. "Over-Investment in College Training" *J. of Human Resources* 10 (Summer 1976): 287-311.

Friedlander, F. & Greenberg, S. "Effect of Job Attitudes, Training, and Organizational Climate on Performance of the Hard-Core Unemployed." *J. of Applied Psychol.*, 1971, *55* 287-295.

Friedlander, S.L. *Unemployment in the Urban Core*. New York: Praeger, 1972.

Ginsberg, Eli (ed.) *Jobs for Americans*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1976.

Glaser, E.M. & Ross, H.L. *A Study of Successful Persons from Disadvantaged Backgrounds*. Report prepared for Office of Special Manpower Programs, U.S. Dept. of Labor, March 31, 1970.

Goldenberg, I.I. *Build Me a Mountain, Youth, Poverty, and the Creation of New Settings*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1971.

Goldstein, J.H. *The Effectiveness of Manpower Training Programs: A Review of Research on the Impact on the Poor*. Joint Economic Committee, Congress of the United States, 1972.

Goodman, P.S., Salipante, P., & Paransky, H. "Hiring, Training, and Retraining the Hard-Core Unemployed: A Selected Review." *J. of Applied Psychol.*, 1973, *58*, No. 1, 23-33.

Gurin, G. *Inner City Youth in a Job Training Project*. Ann Arbor: Univ. of Michigan, Institute for Social Research, 1968.

Harrison, B. *Education, Training, and the Urban Ghetto*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press: 1972.

Hoos, I.R. *Retraining the Work Force: An Analysis of Current Experience*. Berkeley, Calif: Univ. of Calif. Press, 196[illegible].

Johnston, J. & Bachman, J.G. *The Work Attitude and Early Occupational Experiences of Young Men*. Final Report. Dept. of Labor Contract No. 81-26-72-05. Ann Arbor: Univ. of Michigan Survey Research Center, April 13, 1973.

Kalachek, E. *The Youth Labor Market*. Ann Arbor: Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations, Univ. of Michigan and Wayne State Univ., Jan. 1969.

Kennedy, D.B. & Kerber, A. *Resocialization: An American Experiment* New York: Behavioral Publications, 1973.

Kirchner, W. & Lucas, J. The Hard-Core in Training -- Who Makes It? *Training and Development Journal*, 1972, *26*, 34-38.

Kohen, A.I. Determinants of Labor Market Success Among Young Men: Race, Ability, Quantity and Quality of Schooling. The Ohio State Univ. Center for Human Resource Research, 1973.

Lecht, L.A., Manpower Needs for National Goals in the 1970's. New York: Praeger, 1969.

Levitan, S. Antipoverty Work and Training Efforts: Goals and Reality. Ann Arbor: The Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations, Univ. of Michigan and Wayne State Univ., 1967.

Levitan, S.A. and Taggart, R. Employment and Earnings Inadequacy: A New Social Indicator, Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1974.

Levitan, S. & Johnson, B. The Job Corps: A Noble Experiment that Works. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1976.

Levitan, S., Johnston, W.B. & Taggart, R. Still a Dream: The Changing Status of Blacks Since 1960. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1975.

Mangum, G.L. Contributions and Costs of Manpower Development and Training. Ann Arbor: Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations, Univ. of Michigan and Wayne State Univ., 196[illegible].

Mangum, G.L. & Walsh, J. A Decade of Manpower Development and Training. Salt Lake City: Olympus Publishing Co., 1973.

Masters, S.H. Black-White Income Differentials. New York: Academic Press, 1975.

Mincer, J. Schooling, Experience, and Earnings. New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1974.

National Commission for Manpower Policy. From School to Work: Improving the Transition. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Gov't. Printing Office, 1976.

Parnes, H.S. & Kohen, A.I. Occupational Information and Labor Market Status: The Case of Young Men. Columbus: Ohio State Center for Human Resources, 1973.

Panel on Youth of the President's Science Advisory Committee. Youth: Transition to Adulthood. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1974.

Perry, Charles, et al. The Impact of Government Manpower Programs. Phila., Pa. Industrial Relations Unit, The Wharton School, Univ. of Penn., 1975.

Princeton Manpower Symposium. The Transition from School to Work. Industrial Relations Section, Princeton Univ., 1968.

Quinn, R., Fine, B., Levitan, T. *Turnover and Training: A Social-Psychological Study of Disadvantaged Workers.* Unpublished paper, Survey Research Center, Univ. of Michigan, 1970.

Reubens, B.G. *The Hard-to-Employ: European Programs.* New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1970.

Robin, G. *An Assessment of the In-Public School Neighborhood Youth Corps Projects in Cincinnati and Detroit.* Report submitted to U.S. Dept. of Labor, 1969.

Rosow, J.M. *The Worker and the Job.* Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1974.

Smith, R.S. & Pitcher, H.M. *The Neighborhood Youth Corps: An Impact Evaluation.* Technical Analysis Paper No. 9, Office of Evaluation, Office of the Ass't. Secretary for Policy, Evaluation and Research, Dept. of Labor, Sept. 1973.

Solmon, L.C. & Taubman, P.J. *Does College Matter?* New York: Academic Press, 1973.

Somers, G.G. & Stromsdorfer, E.W. *A Cost-Effective Study of the In-School and Summer Neighborhood Youth Corps.* Industrial Relations Institute, Univ. of Wisconsin (Madison) July 1970.

Super, D.E., Kowalski, R.S. and Gotkin, E.H. *Floundering and Trial after High School.* Monograph copyrighted by Teachers College of Columbia Univ., New York, 1967.

The Twentieth Century Fund Task Force on Employment Problems of Black Youth. *The Job Crisis of Black Youth.* New York: Praeger, 1971.

U.S. Dept. of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics. *Youth Unemployment and Minimum Wages Bulletin 1657.* U.S. Gov't. Printing Office, 1970.

U.S. Dept. of Health, Education, and Welfare, Welfare Administration. *Getting Hird, Getting Trained.* U.S. Printing Office, 19[illegible].

U.S. Dept. of Labor, Manpower Administration. *Formal Occupational Training of Adult Workers/Manpower/Automation Research Monograph No. 2.* U.S. Gov't. Printing Office, 1964.

U.S. Dept. of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics. *Employment and Unemployment During 1975.* Special Labor Report 185.

U.S. Dept. of Labor. *Basic Education in Manpower Programs. The R & D Experience,* Research Monograph No. 38; 1975.

U.S. Dept. of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics. *Educational Attainment of Workers, March 1975.* Special Labor Force Report 186.

U.S. Dept. of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics. *Students, Graduates and Dropouts in the Labor Market, October 1975*. Special Labor Force Report No. 191.

U.S. Dept. of Labor, Manpower Administration. *Career Thresholds Vol. 1-5*. U.S. Gov't. Printing Office.

U.S. Dept. of Labor Manpower Administration. *Years for Decision, Vol. 1-2*. Manpower Research Monograph No. 24.

Walther, R.H. *The Cincinnati Clerical Co-op: A Formal Skill Training Program*. Social Research Group, George Washington Univ., 1969. NTIS No. PB 187 934.

Walther, R.H. *The Measurement of Work-Relevant Attitudes*. Manpower Research Projects, The George Washington Univ., 1975. NTIS No. PB 246 260.

Walther, R.H. *An Educational Model for Manpower Programs -- A Manual of Recommended Practices*. Manpower Research Projects, The George Washington Univ. NTIS No. PB 256 532.

Walther, R.H., Magnusson, M.L., Cherkasky, S.E. *A Study of Negro Male High School Dropouts who are Not Reached by Federal Work Training Programs*. Social Research Group, The George Washington Univ. 1970. NTIS No. PB 202 110.

Walther, R.H., Magnusson, M.L. & Cherkasky, S.E. *A Study of the Effectiveness of Selected Out-of-School Neighborhood Youth Corps Program* (Final Report). Manpower Research Projects, The George Washington Univ. 1971 NTIS No. PB 187 933.

Walther, R.H. & Magnusson, M.L. *A Longitudinal Study of Selected Out-of-School NYC-2 Programs in Four Cities*. Manpower Research Projects, The George Washington Univ. 1975. NTIS No. PB 256 532.

Wirtz, W. *The Boundless Resource*. Washington, D.C.: New Republic Book Co., 1975.

Wolfbein, S. (ed.) *Labor Market Information for Youth*. Philadelphia: Temple Univ. School of Business Administration, 1975.

Wolfbein, S. (ed.) *Manpower Policy: Perspectives and Prospects*. Philadelphia: Temple University School of Business Admin., 1974.

Wolfbein, S. *Work in American Society*. Glenview, Ill.: Scott, Foresman & Co., 1971.

Zimpel, L. *The Disadvantaged Worker: Readings in Developing Minority Manpower*. Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1971.